

M . A.
T H E S I S.

presented by

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List of chief books consulted.

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Bakewell - "Source-Book of Ancient Philosophy".

Mahaffy. "Social life in Greece".

Lowes-Dickinson. "Greek view of Life".

Butcher. "Harvard lectures on Greek Subjects".

Jebb. "Classical Greek Poetry".

Murray. "Ancient Greek Literature".

Murray. "Rise of the Greek Epic".

Pater. "Renaissance".

Pater. "Greek Studies".

Harrison. "Prolegomena to the study of Greek Literature".

Cambell. "Religion in Greek Literature".

Driver. "Introduction to the study of Old Testament Literature".

Montefiore. "Origin & growth of religion as illustrated
by the Religion of the Hebrews". Hibbert Lectures 1892.

Ottly. "Religion of Isreal".

Church. "Training of the Christian Character".

Pattison. "Milton".

Graham. "Autobiography of John Milton".

Quotations.

Biblical quotations are from the Authorised Version except in the case of the Psalms when the Prayer-book version is used.

Quotations from the Iliad are from the translation of Lang, Leaf and Myer: those from the Odyssey are from that of Butcher and Lang.

Some account of the Origin and Nature
of
H E B R A I S M and H E L L E N I S M.

With a Special Reference to their influence in the
Life and Poetry of MILTON.

"Thus the sharp contrast of the sculptor's plan
Showed the two primal paths our race has trod:
Hellas, the nurse of man complete as man;
Judea pregnant with the living God."

Readers of Matthew Arnold are familiar with the distinction between
Hebraism and Hellenism and, which is perhaps more important, with
a study of their relation as fundamental though one-sided, tendencies
of human nature, each of which is necessary to the attainment of
a full-orbed perfection but is, notwithstanding, constantly in
antagonism to the other, attempting to usurp to itself the whole
field of human life.

Hebraism, the spirit of the moral law, lays emphasis on striving
and action, on strictness of conscience ; it is pre-eminent for
giving strength to the moral fibre ; Hellenism, the spirit of
culture, lays emphasis on knowledge and the appreciation of beauty,
on spontaneity of consciousness ; it is pre-eminent for sweetness
and light.

It is obvious that none of these tendencies are ^{mutually} incompatible :

morality and culture, action and knowledge, striving and the appreciation of beauty, strength and sweetness, even strictness and spontaneity, are constantly united in the same personality, each contributing to the richness of its harmonious perfection. Regarding Hebraism and Hellenism as complementary psychological tendencies, it is indeed, difficult to account for their obstinate antagonism. The grounds of hostility are only revealed when we realize that each is the spiritual offspring of a definite philosophy of life which once held complete sway over men's mind, and, although during the ages this has lost its hold as a complete philosophy, yet its spirit, embodied in its art still has an abiding influence. The antagonism of Hebraism and Hellenism is therefore of the nature of a family feud which, with the progress of time, becomes traditional rather than rational, and the bitterness of which tends gradually to decrease, so that there may be constant intermarriage in the later generations. For a true appreciation of the nature of this ^{feud} ~~fund~~ we must therefore study the spirit of Hebraism and Hellenism in the period of their greatest vigour and fullest life.

The spirit of Hebraism finds of course, its most complete embodiment in the literature of the Old Testament ; the spirit of Hellenism diffused itself variously through epic and lyric, drama and philosophy, through all the wealth of its art forms not only

of literature but of sculpture, architecture and handicraft.

I shall not attempt to deal with this mass of material. For the purpose of comparison I shall select the 'Homeric' poems, meaning by these the Iliad and the Odyssey, and shall study them, not as giving in any way a complete interpretation of Greek thought and feeling, but rather as an expression sufficiently in tune with the Greek spirit to be accepted as a basis for the education of the young at the most advanced period of Greek culture, and ^{to} rank as a national epic for performance at the great festival of Panathenaea. Thus in a certain sense the ^{Homeric} ~~Hebraic~~ poems may be called the Greek 'Bible'. How far this analogy with the Hebrew Scriptures may be strengthened by a study of the authorship or evolution of the epic I shall not enquire ; in each case, avoiding as far as possible questions of textual criticism, I shall endeavour to catch something of the spirit of Hebraism and Hellenism in their essence and their mutual antipathy. In justice to Hellenism it must be constantly borne in mind that, whereas the Old Testament Scriptures contain the highest flights of Hebrew thought, the spirit of Hellenism, constantly soars beyond the range of the Homeric poems. It will be necessary at times to indicate the direction of these flights.

At the outset it will be well to take a rapid glance at the

relation in which the religion of the Homeric epic stands to the general current of Greek religious life.

The gods of Olympus which we meet with in Homer, rose, with their well-defined comely proportions, from a sea of superstition; very beautiful, and tender superstition some of it, full of wonder and mystery,⁽¹⁾ "with a vague conception of life everywhere but no true appreciation of itself by the mind, no knowledge of the distinction of man's nature. In its consciousness of itself, humanity is still confused with the fantastic indeterminate life of the animal, and vegetable world " With this vague wonder is mingled an active terror of the spirits with which this world is everywhere haunted . spirits which are capricious and often malignant, which have to be appeased with primitive and barbar~~i~~ous rites. The Greek sets valiantly to work on this mass of superstition ; he releases humanity from its entanglement with animal and vegetative life and when thus freed it stands erect and self-contained, he sees that it is very good, and says 'let us now make gods in our own image ' So the host of sprites, goblins and bog~~i~~es, which had surrounded man's life with a haunting fear, become genial humanized deities willing to give their powerful support to men's projects if they are treated with due deference and diplomacy. The relation of the gods to each other, ^{are all} their occupations ~~all are~~ essentially human - their chief interest and care seems to centre in the drama of

(1)Pater's 'Renaissance'(4)p206

subtlety of Hera. The ^{conjugate} ~~equal~~ relations of this pair are extremely uncomfortable but ludicrously human :- Hera is haughty and imperious, she has a jealous disposition and a biting tongue of which Zeus is mortally afraid, but he blunders against her with the physical violence of a bully and a coward ; Hera triumphs by subtle deceit aided with bare-faced lying. Between Artemis and her father Zeus there is a kindly sympathy, based in part perhaps on this common dread of Hera. (1) On one occasion Hera, in a fit of jealous petulance against Artemis, wrenches the quiver from her shoulders and boxes her ears ; Artemis, weeping, runs to complain to her father who laughs good-humouredly at her sorry plight and gently consoles her. Like many a mortal Zeus derives infinite delight and amusement from the strife of others when it does not affect himself : when

(2) " among the other gods fell grievous bitter strife " then " Zeus heard as he sat upon Olympus, and his heart within him laughed pleasantly when he beheld that strife of the gods "

The gods have a relish for jokes of a somewhat coarse nature ;

Pluto is particularly offended at their boisterous mirth, their

immeasurable laughter. They are frankly sensuous ; Zeus and all his

(1) Iliad Book 21. p 429.

(2) " " " p 426.

(3) " Book 1. p 14.

(4) " " 39. p-283.

train think it worth while to take a 12 days journey from Olympus in order to enjoy a feast provided by the Ethiopians. They indulge freely their sexual passions - sexual morality is unknown to Olympus " Zeus when he desires to prove beyond question his overflowing love for Hera 'compares her favourably ' with a long list of former paramours. Through weakness or touchiness they are constantly unfaithful to their chosen protégés. In the face of such a picture we are provoked to question whether a conception so amazingly unsatisfactory to the religious instincts, quite apart from their outrage on the intellectual and moral sense, can be taken quite seriously. In facing this question the conviction is borne in upon ^{us} that, at least the more flagrantly irreligious of these passages are " not primitive but smooth and sophisticated. They mock with easy scepticism at the indecorousness of primitive belief."

"The poet was not writing about anything which he felt as real or as mattering much to anybody's feelings. He was writing about parody or mock-epic. And he made it quite pretty." " Fortunately this mocking spirit does not pervade the entire epic - it breaks

out chiefly when the writer gives us a view of the gods at home

(1) Iliad Book XIV p 283

(5) G. Murray. Rise of the Greek Epic. p 283.

(6) " " " " p 286.

upon Olympus ; the moral relaxation of the atmosphere in these scenes would seem almost intended as a foil to the action of the human heroes in which a spirit of dignity and high seriousness is throughout maintained. When the gods descend to the sphere of human action they themselves catch something of this spirit.

If the writer of the Homeric epic were already beginning to be blasé of the theology of Olympus, yet this theology was not yet destined to become a creed outworn. Accepted from Ionia by the larger Greece the Olympians lived on for a while purged of their mortal grossness. Gradually the central figure of Zeus emerges as the deity par excellence : the philosopher Heraclitus^{cl} in describing "the One" as Wisdom adds⁽¹⁾ " It is both willing and unwilling to be called by the name of Zeus " It is a similar feeling to that expressed in the famous prayer to Zeus from the Agamemnon of Aeschylus :-

(2) "Zeus, whosoe'er indeed he be,
In that name so please him hear,
Zeus, for my help is none but he ;
Conjecture through creation free
I cast, and cannot find his peer ;
With this strange load upon my mind
So burdening, only Zeus I find. "

Around this central figure the lesser deities group themselves,

(1) Bakewell's Source Books of Ancient Philosophy. p 30.

(2) Headlam's translation. l. 171 ff.

showing a tendency to become increasingly refined and abstract :

(1)
Athene, for instance, " has waxed in glory till she comes to be a motherless splendour, born of the brain of Zeus, an incarnate city of Athens. To these purified forms of the Olympians are added other figures more obviously and frankly of the nature of pure abstractions, such as the figure of ^{Peace} ~~Peas~~ with the infant Wealth in her arms.

Through the various stages of their evolution the orthodox Greek accepted the gods of Olympus with little question in whatever form they were presented to him, and cheerfully offered them sacrifice and attended their delightful festivals. But the religion of Olympus could give no real or lasting satisfaction to the deepest human needs : the desire of the human soul for communion with some spiritual reality other and higher than humanity, the yearning for purity and for freedom from the limits of mortality.

(2) " The Greeks of the 6th Century may well have been a little weary of their anthropomorphic Olympians, tired of their own magnified reflection in the mirror of mythology, whether this image were distorted or halo-crowned. They had taken for their motto, "Know thyself " but at the fountain of self-knowledge no human

(3) J. Harrison's ¹⁸⁹Prolegomena to the study of Greek Religion. p 445.

soul has ever yet quenched its thirst." And so an answer to his religious craving was found in the religion of the Mysteries.

Chief among these were the cult of Dionysus, of Orpheus, and of 'Mother and Maid' at Eleusis. The worshipper of Dionysus sought a release from human limitations which by its very nature was essentially transient ; caught up in a wave of Divine intoxication he was freed from the restraints even of his own human nature, and became for the time as an 'inspired wild beast' For the spirit of the Dionysus worship in all the loveliness of its natural freedom, in its ecstasy of divine possession and in its darker frenzy, we turn naturally to the Bacchae of Euripides.

In the Orphic cult we find a religious feeling which is tenderer, deeper, purer than that of the Dionysiac worship ; in some aspects it seems an anticipation of the mystic creed of the Neo-Platonists. The Orphic creed accepts the duality of soul and body ; the soul is imprisoned in the body at birth as a punishment for previous sin ; by purification it is enabled to escape after death to a life which is immortal and free from the hindrances of the 'manifold' and sense. Miss Harrison in her 'Probyomena' remarks of ^{Orphic} ~~Orphism~~ ⁽¹⁾ " The last word in Greek religion was said by the Orpheas, and the beautiful figure of Orpheus is strangely modern. Then as now we have for one side

(1) ~~Gilbert Murray's Ancient Greek Literature. p 66.~~

(1) Miss Harrison's ¹⁸⁵ Probyomena to the Study of Greek Religion. p 659.

of the picture a revived and intensified spirituality, an ardent even ecstatic enthusiasm, a high and self conscious standard of moral conduct, a deliberate simplicity of life - abstinence from many things, temperance in all ; a great quiet of demeanor, a marvellous gentleness to all living things." - on the reverse side of this picture : the formalism, faddism, priggishness, etc., the corruption which inevitably crept in we need not dwell ; ' corruptio optima pessimum ' is true here as elsewhere. Much of the spirit of Orphism is absorbed into the cult of the 'Mother and Maid' at Eleusis - ^{those} ~~these~~ Mysteries which none might attend who had not the hands and the heart pure, which gave to those who had been initiated the right of immortality after death. Wonderfully impressive were their rites, wonderfully calculated to stir the deepest religious emotions, to lift the thoughts of the worshipper from the every day things of life to things which were high, holy and aloof :- the procession of torches by night to the scene of Demeter's ^{grief} going, the solemn fast which prepared the worshipper to partake of the sacred things, the assembly in the darkness before the temple, the silence of the expectant throng ; the sudden blaze of light as the temple doors are thrown open to display in a succession of 'moving and breathing pictures', scenes from the sacred story of Demeter and Persephone, accompanied perhaps by

"sacred words delivered by the hierop^hicant in exalted tones adapted to produce a profound impression on minds so carefully prepared_"

There is no doubt that these mysteries exercised a profound influence on the Greek consciousness. For a suggestion of the extent of their influence we may quote from Cambell, who in his 'Religion in Greek Literature' says of them : " One thing may certainly be affirmed - that high authorities whose gravity and depth of mind cannot be disputed bear witness with one voice to the elevating influence of the Eleusinian Mysteries. Sophocles dwells emphatically on the incomparable happiness of the initiated both in life and after death ; Plato, who had a far clearer vision both of God and immortality than any child of Lomolpus, can find no more fitting vehicle for his most transcendant thoughts than the imagery which he borrows from the contemplation of the mysteries. And long afterwards when the philosophy inspired by Plato had become the acknowledged guide of life for those who could receive it and the Eleusinian ceremonies had lost much of their early freshness and simplicity, Plutarch, in speaking of death and a future state, could find no language more impressive than what belonged to the same line of allusion. Lastly it is a significant fact that

(1) Camb^pell's Religion in Greek Literature. p 264 f 261

(2) " " " " p 264 f

Marcus Aurelius, in his anxiety to keep touch with the religion of his contemporaries, when he visited Athens took care to be initiated at Eleusis. How many of the higher thoughts about another life and about the divine nature which we find in Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles or Euripedes, how much of the tradition concerning immortality to which Plato refers in the *Meno* may have been originated in some such way it were vain to enquire "

Finally side by side with the demand for a deeper religious satisfaction to which the Mysteries were the answer, there arose the demand of awakening intellect which could not be wholly satisfied with even the purified religion of the mysteries, much less with the Olympic system. And so arose the schools of the philosophers who upheld the pre-eminent claims of the reason and sought intellectual satisfaction in their various systems of atheism or agnosticism, of pantheism or philosophical monism. Some of their expressions of philosophic faith sound peculiarly familiar to modern ears :- the agnosticism of the sophist, Protagoras summed up in the famous saying " With regard to the gods, I know not whether they exist or not, or what they are like. Many things prevent our knowing, the subject is obscure and brief is the span of life. " ;

(2)
The Pantheist strain of thought in Heracleitus " God is day and

(1) Quoted in Bakewell's Source Book of Ancient Philosophy. p 67.

(2) " " " " " " p 32.

(3) ~~Plato's Laws~~

night, winter and summer, war and peace, satiety and hunger. But he assumes various forms, just as fire when it is mingled with different kinds of incense is named according to the savour of each. The student of metaphysics hails as familiar friends the various forms of philosophical monism, where the Deity, in being purged from material taint, loses even the spiritual quality of personality, appearing variously as the 'Wisdom' of Heracleitus, the 'sacred, ineffable Mind' of Empedocles, or, perhaps most familiar of all, the eternal changeless 'One' of Plato whose relation to the changeful and varied 'Manifold' is the source of perennial perplexity to the philosophic mind. It is delightful to hear the mature Plato who sees the dangerous fascination of this sort of intellectual exercise, giving counsel for training the Greek youth in the ways of orthodoxy. This is the sort of discourse which is to be addressed⁽¹⁾ to him: "There have always been persons more or less numerous who have had the same disorder. I have known many of them and can tell you that no-one who had taken up in youth this opinion that the gods do not exist ever continued in the same till he was old." We can well imagine the impatience of the Greek youth having his wonderful intellectual discoveries stigmatized as a mere 'disorder' common to youth. With the intellectualists we may bring to an end our brief survey of the place of the religion of the

Homeric poems in the religious thought of Hellenism.

In Homer the gods have emerged from the state of the primitive nature myth; they have become so thoroughly humanised as to cease to inspire veneration ; they live on for a while in a purified form with a tendency to become mere abstractions. A deeper channel for the religious consciousness is found in the Mysteries while the schools of the philosophers claim to meet the increasing demands of the intellect for reasonable satisfaction.

Part II Section II Fundamental Conceptions.

Having thus cleared the way we may proceed to a more detailed comparison of the ideas of Hebraism and Hellenism :-

The most casual student of Hebrew and Greek literature must be impressed with the tremendous gulf between the conception which each forms of the Divine essence and attributes. The Hebrew mind is filled with a "rushing river of the consciousness of God."

It is in contemplation of the Divine that Hebrew thought reaches its sublimest heights. Even in the comparatively primitive stage of monolatry when Jehovah is the God of a tribe, He is a just and terrible God of awful and unapproachable majesty; Moses the chosen 'man of God' is permitted to see His back and the skirts of His clothing ; after holding communion with Him in the Mount of Sinai the face of Moses reflects something of the Divine radiance, so that

(1) ~~Isaiah 6~~

(2) ~~1 Samuel 6.19.~~

the Children of Israel cannot look upon its unveiled brightness ; for them even the voice of Jehovah is too terrible ; they pray that He may deliver His message through Moses, not speak with them. The unapproachable holiness of Jehovah is present in the minds of all the great Hebrew writers from the earliest historians to the latest prophets, psalmists, and priests. From the wealth of utterances on the subject we may perhaps select the description given by Isaiah, perhaps the most inspired of the Hebrew prophets, of his vision of the Courts of Heaven : ⁽¹⁾ there Jehovah is high and lifted up, surrounded by a train of angels, whose faces for very awe are ^{veiled} vested with reverent wings, and incessantly, with a wonder and worship which never tires, one cries to another the refrain : " Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, the whole earth is full of His glory ", and the prophet who has been found worthy to receive such a vision is bowed down with a sense of his utter sinfulness and, filled with a great terror of holiness, cries " Woe is me, for I am a man of unclean lips and dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips and mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of Hosts! In His dealings with men Jehovah reveals two chief qualities : a capacity for a fierce but righteous anger and severity, together with a most tender and loving compassion. The anger of Jehovah is simply terrific whether it be judged by a simple statement of

(1) Isaiah vi

consequences : ⁽¹⁾ " And He smote the men of Beth-shemesh because they had looked into the Ark of the Lord, even He smote of the people fifty thousand and threescore and ten men " or whether it be vividly portrayed with the unrivalled descriptive power of the prophets : ⁽²⁾ "I will tread them in Mine anger, and trample them in my fury ; their blood shall be sprinkled upon My garments and I will stain all My raiment. For the day of vengeance is in Mine heart. Mine own arm brought salvation unto Me ; and My fury it upheld Me. And I will tread down the people in Mine anger and make them drunk in My fury and I will bring down their strength to the earth." Immediately following this lurid picture of Jehovah's wrath poured forth upon His enemies is the most moving description of His love for His chosen people. ⁽³⁾ "In all ^{their} this affliction He was afflicted and the angel of His presence saved them, in His love and in His pity He redeemed them and carried them all the days of old. " No words are too tender to describe Jehovah in His more loving aspect which reveals itself in His relation to Israel ; similar ^{ies} are drawn from every sphere of human love : ⁽⁴⁾ the bridegroom rejoicing over his bride, the husband yearning after the forsaken wife of his youth, ⁽⁵⁾ the mother comforting her sorrowing son ⁽⁶⁾, or caring for her sucking child - even these aspects of purely

(1) I Samuel VI 19

(2) Isaiah LXIII 3 ff

(4) Isaiah LXII; 5.

(5) " LXVI; 6.

(17) (6) " LXVI; 13.

human love do not exhaust the theme and pictures are drawn from
 (1) the shepherd caring for his flock, gathering the lambs in his
 arm and carrying them in his bosom and gently leading those that
 are with young; even from the eagle fluttering over her young,
 (2) spreading abroad her wings, taking them and bearing them on her
 wings.

Such is the God of the Hebrews, terrible in His majesty,
 unapproachable in His holiness, from His righteousness blazes
 forth a consuming fire of anger against the unrighteous, from
 His love springs, as from a deep well, the most tender compassion
 for the erring.

For anything in any way approaching to this Hebrew spirit in the
 religion of the Greeks we must turn to the Mysteries - not to the
 cult of Dionysus where the god takes possession of the worshipper
 - Jehovah is always 'high and lifted up' above His people - but,
 turning to the cult of Orpheus and of the 'Mother and Maid,' we
 find the same feeling of the need for purity in the worshipper -
 let none approach these Mysteries who has not the 'hands and the
 heart pure' In the Mysteries at Eleusis there is the same
 feeling of aloofness and awe, the need for a Priest to be the

(1) Isaiah XL, 11

(2) Deuteronomy xxxii, 11.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) Isaiah 67. 9. | (4) Isaiah 66. 13 | (7) Deuteronomy 32. 11. |
| (2) " 62. 5. | (5) " 49. 10. | |
| (3) " 54. 6. | (6) " 40. 11. | |

mediator of the Sacred Words. But the similarity is largely one of religious atmosphere and emotion ; in Dionysus, Orpheus, Demeter and Persephone, there is little to suggest the awful Majesty of the Hebrew Jehovah. His contrast with the gracious Olympians is too striking to call for comment. Among the 'bloodless abstractions' of the philosopher, perhaps the truest feeling for the Divine Nature is to be found in Aristotle's conception of the Deity : ⁽¹⁾ " God's life is like that of which we catch a transient glimpse when our life is at its best. We say that God is living eternal, perfect ; and continuous and everlasting life is God's, for God is eternal life_ " But to Aristotle, good philosopher that he ^{is} ~~was~~, this life means a passionless exercise of reasonable self-contemplation : " Pure self-activity of reason is God's most blessed and everlasting life " and " the Divine reason has itself for its object and its thinking is a thinking of thinking. "

This is indeed a lofty conception, but it is in the high region of intellectual abstraction where the air is too rarified for mortal breath, where there can be no vapours of incense or throngs of worshipping spirits.

Part II

The relation between Divinity and humanity is of the utmost significance for both Hebraism and Hellenism. The relation between Jehovah and His people is that between the Creator and his

(1) Aristotle ^{Metaphysics} Part 11. Ch. 7. Quoted Bakewell p 232 ff.

creatures - creatures who are utterly dependant on Him not only for their creation but for their 'preservation and all the blessings of this life' : In this light human nature assumes a curious paradoxical aspect : God 'created man in His own image ', but of the dust of the earth, He breathed into his nostrils the breath of life ; but, as a consequence of sin, death came into the world and thus in a little while the dust must return to its dust and the spirit to God who gave it. Viewed then in the light of the mortality which follows from his sin, man is the mere dust of the earth, he is 'altogether lighter than vanity itself,' as the grass which withereth, as the flower which fadeth. Yet on this humble earthly clay God had stamped His own image ; He had given to man the ⁽¹⁾ 'dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth," and though when ⁽²⁾ "God saw the wickedness of man was great in the earth and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually," it repented the Lord that He had made man on the earth and it grieved Him at His heart. And the Lord said^o : 'I will destroy^A man whom I have created from the face of the earth" ; nevertheless God did not utterly destroy but

(1) Genesis 1. 28.

~~(2) Psalm 106. 13.~~

(2) Genesis VI, 5 ff

preserved a faithful remnant, and, when wickedness was again multiplied upon the face of the earth, God chose to Himself from among the rebellious sons of men a peculiar people; on them He expended His love and His care, guiding, sustaining, chastening, forgiving, remaining faithful to them even when time after time " they forgot His works : and would not abide His counsel" So with infinite patience ⁽¹⁾ "many a time did He deliver them : but they rebelled against Him with their own inventions and were brought down in their wickedness. Nevertheless, when He saw their adversity : He heard their complaint. "

There were two things above all which God required of His chosen people and it is in these that they are constantly failing : first their faithful and reverent worship and fear ; next their unquestioning obedience to His will as it is progressively revealed through chosen messengers : ⁽²⁾ " Let us hear the conclusion of the whole matter " says a preacher pre-eminent for wisdom, "fear God, keep His commandments for this is the whole duty of man."

The fear which men yield to Jehovah is at first an imperfectly moralised fear : the people shrink with a nameless dread from the awful prescence of Jehovah on Mount Sinai ; David, on one

(1) Psalm 106. 42,43.

(2) Ecclesiastes 12. 13.

occasion is afraid because of Jehovah's 'unaccountable moods' when His anger blazes forth on what would seem inadequate provocation : the people are bringing home the Ark of God with great rejoicing when one of the men puts out his hand to steady the Ark which seems in danger "for the oxen shook it" immediately

1) "the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah, and God smote him there for his error ; and there he died by the Ark of God. And David was displeased because the Lord had made a breach upon Uzzah. And David was afraid of the Lord that day and said 'How shall the Ark of God come to me ? So David would not remove the Ark of the Lord. " More often the fear is that of the guilty before the terrible avenging wrath of Jehovah. It is the business of the priests to instil into the people this fear in order that

(2)

they may turn from their sin. Isaiah gives a vivid picture of the terror of the guilty. "And they shall go into the holes of the rocks and into the caves of the earth for fear of the Lord and for the glory of His majesty, when He ariseth to shake terribly the earth. In that day a man shall cast away his idols, to go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the tops of the jagged rocks, for fear of the Lord and for the glory of His majesty when He ariseth to shake terribly the earth."

With this fear there is a deep conviction of God's righteousness

(1) Samuel 6. 7ff.

(2) Isaiah 2. 19 ff.

Deuteronomy the allegiance required is in the noble form of love.

(1) "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might." This love is based on thankfulness for God's many mercies to Israel. But an inward and spiritual temper of mind needs outward and visible expression in acts of worship, and Jehovah ordains for His people an elaborate system of ritual and ⁽²⁾ the rites and ceremonies which God does choose are naturally those which lay ready to the author's hand. Some of them embody ideas of extremest antiquity, and are strangely pagan in their very form and enactment, yet out of all the heathen sting is ^{re} ~~un~~removed through their adoption and promulgation by Yahveh." This strange accumulation of ritual, some of which seems a mere relic of barbarism, some a systematised and sanctified hygiene, is not only robbed of its 'heathen sting', but it becomes clothed with spiritual significance and, when organized and centred round the national temple at Jerusalem, it gives to the worshipper satisfaction for his deepest religious needs. ⁽³⁾ "The theory of God's presence within the Temple helped to evoke some of the noblest religious sentiments out of apparently unpromising material. Spiritual communion with God

(1) ~~Exodus 20. 3.~~

(2) Montefiore. p. 322.

(1) Deuteronomy 6. 5.

(2)(3) " p. 385, 386.

and the pure joy of a felt nearness to Him were born from participation in the Temple service. To go to Jerusalem became a high religious satisfaction. Some of our noblest and most spiritual Psalms owe their origin to the Temple and its worship." A familiar instance is the eighty fourth Psalm : "How amiable are Thy dwellings : Thou Lord of Hosts. My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts of the Lord : my heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God. Blessed are they that dwell in Thy house, they will alway be praising Thee. For one day in Thy courts is better than a thousand. I had rather be a doorkeeper in the house of my Lord : than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness." It is these spiritual associations which give vitality to the Jewish system of ritual, and enables it to withstand the bitter scorn and denunciation of prophet after prophet, and after the return from exile, to put forth fresh branches and take even firmer root in the national religion. The opposition of such prophets as denounce the forms and ceremonies of religion springs from their burning zeal to uphold the will of Jehovah in the sphere of mortality ; they are fiercely impatient of anything which stands in the way of moral reform. They think that the rites and ceremonies turn the minds and energies of the people away from the one thing ^{need} ~~mindful~~, ~~and~~

that they deaden the conscience which should be sensitively alive to the great national wrongs and yield a religious self-satisfaction which is not justified by the circumstances.

Like many enthusiasts for social reform they shew a fine disregard for the spiritual possibilities of a religious ceremonial which on the surface appears mere formality and foolishness.

Thus the ⁽¹⁾Psalmist points out that no intelligent person can believe in sacrifice ; how can it be in the nature of the Creator to care for bull's flesh and the blood of goats ? And even ^{if} He could suffer a mortal hunger do not these belong to Him, 'all the beasts of the field and the cattle upon a thousand hills'?

He will not tell man if He be hungry. The prophets do not pause for gentle irony and reasonings ; they pour forth a volume of vehement denunciations. ^{(Amos declares in the name of Jehovah} ⁽²⁾"I hate, I despise your feast days and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer Me burnt offerings and your meat offerings, I will not accept them, neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beast Take thou away from Me the noise of thy songs ; for I will not hear the melody of thy viols." Isaiah is no less emphatic:-

⁽³⁾"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto Me ? saith the Lord. 'I am full of the burnt offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts ; and I delight not in the blood of bullock or of lambs or of he-goats. When ye come to appear before Me

(1) Psalm 50. 8 ff.

(3) Isaiah 1. 19. ff.

(2) Amos 5. 21. ff.

who hath required this at your hand to tread My courts ? Bring no more vain oblations, incense is an abomination unto Me ; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with ; it is iniquity even the solemn meeting. Your new moons, and your appointed feasts, my soul hateth ; they are a trouble unto Me ; I am weary to bear them." Whereas Isaiah thinks that these things are no part of the Divine decrees, Jeremiah puts into the mouth of Jehovah an explicit denial of all responsibility for them :—⁽¹⁾ "For I spake not unto your fathers nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices." The motive for these denunciations is ~~always~~ revealed in the exhortation, which invariably follows, to perform the 'weightier matter of the law' to ⁽²⁾ "let judgement run down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream", to ⁽³⁾ "relieve the oppressed ; judge the fatherless ; plead for the widow." Even if their sympathies have a one-sided tending^{enc}, it is to these moral enthusiasts that we owe the development of the attitude of mind tendency^{enc} which was present even in the Mosaic period, when the substance if not the actual form of the Dialogue seems to have been established, and which regarded the will of Jehovah as a will which was eternally making for righteousness ; which demanded justice and even tenderness and compassion in the dealings of man with man.

(1) Jeremiah 7. 22.

(3) Isaiah 1. 17.

(2) Amos 5. 24.

(1) "but in the tragedy of which Israel is the hero, the nations only too readily assume the villain's part." To Ezekiel, writing during the Babylonian exile, the Gentile nations appear as objects on which ^{as} and in Corpore vilo Jehovah can exhibit His power and manifest His glory by destroying or subduing - on which conception Montefiore very truly comments : ⁽²⁾ "It is a false loyalty when, as in Ezekiel, the object of God's management as regards the great majority of His creatures is not that they may be reconciled to Him, - converted from their evil ways to lead a life of goodness and content, - but that He may have the empty satisfaction of their acknowledgement, in the midst and by the means of desolation and carnage that He is indeed a very mighty and powerful God." - and again- "Israel and the nations will both know Yahveh as in His nature to either He respectively is - the one as omnipotent and compassionate, the other as omnipotent and malign." In this conception Ezekiel falls short of that ^{of} in the earlier 8th century prophets according to whom Jehovah at least confers on the nations the honour of using them as instruments in the educative chastisement of His chosen people. But nobler than either of these is the thought of Ezekiel's supposed contemporary the author of the later portion of the Book of Isaiah ; in his writings we find the idea of Israel as the means of bringing

(1) Montefiore. p 158.

(2) Montefiore. p. 159.

(1) "light to the Gentiles and salvation unto the end of the earth";
from Israel shall appear a Messiah who ⁽²⁾ "shall bring forth judgement to the Gentiles and the isles shall wait for his law."

After the return from exile these visions of a universal religion gradually fade away. For a time fitful glimpses of these are

⁽³⁾ seen; Zachariah, for instance, reflects the old spirit when he sees Jerusalem as a 'spiritual metropolis' to which the nations shall come and where they shall dwell with the Lord 'in the midst of them' - yet the general tendency is for Israel to return and cling more closely to her position of proud exclusiveness.

In the relations of the Greeks to the Olympian Gods there is a very wide measure of familiarity and intimacy ; some of the gods themselves have sprung originally from the race of men, the daughters of men bear children to the sons of Olympus, and the daughters of Olympus to the sons of men. The drama of human life thus becomes of absorbing interest to the gods ; they have each some favourite hero, perhaps a ^{son} ~~don~~, whose fortunes they strive to advance ; when there is strife among men the gods take sides ; sometimes in their eager interest for the issue of a contest they descend and mingle with the fray, sometimes they stand by the side of a favourite hero and ~~beathe~~ breathe into him strength and valour ; sometimes they agree to stand aloof

(1) Isaiah 49. 6. (2) Isaiah 42. 1,4. (3) Zachariah 2.10. ff

and let the battle take its course. Here is a typical contest
 from the Iliad : ⁽¹⁾ Apollo, disguised as the warrior Lytraon urges
 Aeneas to go out to fight against Achilles ; he reminds him of
 the advantage he derives from his Divine origin which is superior
 to that of Achilles. " Thou too, men say, wast born of Aphrodite,
 daughter of Zeus, and Achilles mother is of less degree among the
 gods." Thus encouraged Aeneas goes forth ; Hera gets wind of
 the matter and appeals to Poseidon and Athene - "Here is Aeneas
 gone forth in flashing bronze to meet the son of Pel^lus and it
 is Phoebus Apollo that hath sent him. Come then, be it ours to
 turn him back straightway, or else let some of us stand likewise
 beside Achilles and give him mighty power so that he fail not in
 his spirit, but know that they who love him are the best of the
 Immortals and that they who of old ward war and fighting from
 the Trojans are vain as wind. All we from Olympus are come down
 to mingle in this fight that he take no hurt among the Trojans
 on this day. ~ ~ ~ Then to her made answer Poseidon, Shaker
 of the earth - Hera, be not fierce in wisdom : it behoveth thee
 not. Not fain am Ie at least to match gods with gods in strife.
 Let us go now into some high place apart and seat us there to
 watch, and battle shall be left to men. Only if Ares or Phoebus
 Apollo fall to fighting and put constraint upon Achilles and

(1) Iliad. Book 20. 401.ff.

hinder him from fight, then straightway among us too shall go up the battle cry of strife."

The relation between men and gods is indeed that between patrons and their protégés. The success of man in any great enterprise is very largely dependent on the power and influence of his patrons ; valour may go a long way and is indeed likely to enlist the sympathy of patrons, but without their influence he cannot prevail against a man with perhaps equal valour but who is fortunate enough to be ^{attached} ~~attended~~, perhaps by ties of blood-relationship, to a more powerful patron ; he must be scrupulous in the performance of all those civilities which custom requires; the altars of the gods must be diligently cared for, they must never lack the accustomed offerings of the flesh of bulls, goats, and lambs. If these things be neglected a patron may remove her favour and even transfer it to another candidate. Reverence to the Olympians does not seem to have passed beyond this primitive stage of sacrifice. Obedience to them was not the obedience of a ready will but the yielding to an over-ruling irresistible power. Nor is this power one that works for righteousness - it is a frequent excuse for human misdeeds that they are the work of a god : Agamemnon excuses himself from responsibility for the havoc which his proud folly with Achilles has wrought.

(1) "It is not I who am the cause, but Zeus, and Destiny and Erinnyes

that walketh in darkness who put into my soul fierce madness on the day when in the assembly I, even I, bereft Achilles of his meed. What could I do ?, it is God who accomplisheth all."

This note of fatalism is constantly sounded ; the gods not only inspire courage but for their purposes they can fill the heart of a hero with cowardice. Thus Zeus puts into Hector⁽¹⁾ a weakling heart and leaping into his car Hector turned in flight and cried on the rest of the Trojans to flee, for he knew the turning of the sacred robe of Zeus." Thus the Greek submission to the will of the gods is not the humble submission to a just decree, but the proud submission to one that is inevitable ; it is the attitude assumed by the hierarchy of Olympus to the will of Zeus as expressed by Hera. "Witless that we are to be wroth in our folly against Zeus. He sits apart and careth not nor takes any thought thereof for he deems that among the immortal gods he is manifestly pre-eminent in force and might. Wherefore do ye contest yourselves with whatsoever sorrow he sends on each of you ?" In this connection we are naturally reminded of the *Tragedies* of Euripides which are full of bitter complaint against the unrighteous and pitiless will of the gods.

With the philosopher the will of Zeus comes to mean the decree which the universe as an ordered system imposes on its parts, and the resignation to this will, while still something proud, is

(1) Iliad. Book 15. p 293.

invented, at least in the case of the Stoics, with something of the joy which the Psalmist feels for the will of Jehovah - we can discern a note of their joy in the exclamation of Marcus Aurelius.

1) "Whatsoever is expedient unto thee, O World, is expedient unto me."

It receives still clearer expression in the Hymn of Cleanthes :

2) "Grant unto us that wisdom on which thou thyself relying suitably guidest all ; that thus being honoured we may return to thee our honour, singing thy works unceasingly ; because there is no higher office for a man - nor for a god - than ever rightly singing of universal law." The emotional reverence for the Divine creator becomes an intellectual wonder and admiration for the marvels of the cosmic order of which man is a part. In his animal nature man is linked up with the material process of the Universe :-

2) "Of the common substance and of the common soul also what a small portion is allotted unto us, and in what a little clod of the whole earth is it that thou dost crawl." And yet man by virtue of the god-like powers of his intellect is akin to that Reason which governs the Universe : // Finally turning to the Mysteries which always present some feature foreign to the other religious systems of Hellenism we find, especially in the cult of Dionysus, the beginnings of mysticism of a relation between man and the Deity in which man's being is merged in the being of the god, the god takes possession of man. - this mysticism, the germs of whose growth may

(1) Marcus Aurelius. Meditations 12. 25.

(1) (2) Quoted in Bakewell p 278
(3) Plinius u p 342 (35)

be found in the Mysteries reaches its fulness of growth in Neo-Platonism, where the supreme end of man's being is to be become re-absorbed in the life of the one Divine Being by an experience which is "not a vision but some other kind of seeing, ecstasy and simplification and self-^{surrender}reminder, a yearning to touch and a rest and a thought centred upon being merged in the Divine." It is difficult to weave this beautiful strand of religious feeling into the web of Hellenism, it will be found no less foreign to the spirit of Hebraism. The dividing line between Jehovah and his people is a severe one and prohibits all idea of a mystic union.

Part III

This freedom from mysticism is seen in the Hebrew's attitude to Nature - communion with the beauties of nature tends perhaps beyond all else to awaken the slumbering mystic in us. The Hebrew, while profoundly stirred by these beauties, is not softened by them to relax the stern severity of his religious attitude. He maintains that "in six days the Lord made Heaven and earth, the sea and all that in them is"; the world of nature was thus produced by a quite ^{definite} different act of creation and its processes are maintained by the Divine power. God is not in any sense immanent in His works ; it is true that, in the imagination of the inspired poet, the clouds are His chariot, He rides upon the

(1) ~~Marcus Aurelius Meditations 12. 25. quoted Bakewell p 336.~~

(2) Plotinus-Bakewell p 392 (36)

wings of the wind and His voice speaks through the rolling thunder;
but God is not thunder or wind, these are merely His works and He
is far above them : He ⁽¹⁾ "hath measured the waters in the hollow of
His hand and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended
the dust of the earth in a measure and weighed the mountains in
scales and the hills in a balance. Behold the nations are as a
drop of a bucket and are counted as the small dust of the balance:
behold He taketh up the isles as a very little thing.

It is He that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the
inhabitants thereof are ~~as~~ grasshoppers ; that stretcheth out the
heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in"
All the glory of the earth and heaven are as nothing compared
with the splendour of His essential Majesty - "Heaven is His throne
and earth His footstool." Nevertheless from that which is created
we may learn something of the nature of the being who creates.
And so "the Heavens declare His glory and the firmament sheweth
His handiwork;" something of the joyous energy of the Divine
nature may be learnt from the sun "which cometh forth as a bride-
groom out of his chamber and rejoiceth as a strong man to run his
course ; the wonders of His wisdom and power are seen in the stars
for 'He bringeth forth their host by number and calleth them all
by name ; something of His beauty from the flowers of the field
and the painted wing of the peacock, something of His strength

from Behemoth and Leviathon, from the horse whose neck is clothed with thunder ; His providence and foresight are displayed in His bountiful replenishing of the earth, in providing grass for the cattle and green herb for the service of man ; in sending the rivers which run among the hills whereof the beasts of the forest do drink and the wild asses quench their thirst, in the hills which are a refuge for the wild goats and the stony rocks for the conies ; His justice and the sternness of His decree is shewn in appointing laws and bounds for Nature - He has said to the sea : "Hitherto shalt thou come and no further and here shall thy proud waves be stayed. "He has made a decree for the rain and a way for the lightening of the thunder". Sometimes to the poetic imagination nature is endowed with a consciousness which responds to the Divine Creator rendering, as man is called upon to render, obedience and a praise with which is mingled a reverent fear. Obedience is rendered by the moon which knoweth her season and the sun which knoweth his going down ; the Creator is praised when the morning stars sing together, when the hills are joyful and the trees of the field clap their hands, by the valleys when they stand so thick with corn that they laugh and sing. At the near presence of the Almighty the mountains tremble and the hills are bowed ; at His presence the Psalmist asks 'What aileth thee O Jordan that thou fleddest and ye little hills that ye skipped

like rams.

Thus the Hebrew poetry of nature is sublime with Divine associations. Nature passages ^{occur} seen in the Homeric poems suggestive of a religious feeling for nature similar to that of the Hebrew poetry - it is Zeus who sends the lightening and speaks through the thunder, Apollo the far darter, sends the scorching rays of the sun, Poseidon rouses the ocean storms ; the gods descend, like Jehovah, upon the mountains and cover their shoulders with impenetrable cloud. But underlying this superficial resemblance of imagery there is a profound difference of spirit. Zeus, Apollo and Poseidon do not create the natural phenomena with which they are associated, they are themselves personifications of these phenomena ; a being may create something, and this work will express ^{a part} ~~something~~ of his character, but he himself far transcends this very partial expression of himself ; on the other hand a being conceived by a process of personification is limited to the nature of that of which he is the personified expression. We have seen that the Olympians tended to escape from these limitations and to ^{as} ~~develop~~ independent human personality, but even so they only rule over that part of nature with which they are specially associated, they do not create it. Poseidon has rule over 'the hoary sea', "Zeus the wide Heaven in clear air and cloud, but the earth and high Olympus are common to all the gods." Moreover the very fact that Nature reveals the

operation of many and diverse spirits means the loss of that sublimity which is so typically Hebrew. To regard Nature as the work of one supreme Being who has created her amazing wealth of wonder and beauty, her immensities and her minute perfections, who has constrained with bonds of measure and harmony her bewildering activities, is to regard her with awe and religious joy ; on the other hand to regard these various wonders as the work of a variety of spirits often at strife and variance with each other, is to substitute for this overwhelming awe a spirit of delighted interest and an admiration of the particular beauties of Nature.

The Homeric poetry shows a keen sensitiveness to all forms of natural beauty and an ~~attentive~~ⁱⁿ observation of the minutest details of loveliness.

There is a peculiar felicity in the use of epithets which catch the very spirit and essence of the object to which they are applied -
(1)
as for instance in the following "There lieth between us long space of shadowy mountains and echoing sea." and in the wonderfully caressing epithets descriptive of the native land of the heroes which seem to express in a word the essential loveliness of the landscape, together with the pride of the hero for his birthplace. Here are a few extracts from this delightful geographical catalogue.

Mykalessos with wide lawns, Lakedaemon lying low amid the rifted

hills, Periton with quivering leafage, Anthaa, deep in meads, &

Odyssey Book I lb.

Phileas couched in grass, ^{deep} ~~deep~~-soiled Larissa and, more proud and loving still perhaps :- Iton, mother of flocks, Thisbe, haunt of doves, Hellas, the home of fair women. The most beautiful natural descriptions in the Homeric poems occur not as in Hebrew poetry as the expression of deep religious fervour, but rather incidentally in the form of similes illustrating and adorning descriptions of human action. There is a perfect wealth of natural imagery in the poets mind ready to flow forth on every occasion ; for an instance of almost superfluous wealth, where the images are seen to tumble over one another, we may take the following passage :-

"So stood they in the flowery Skamandrian plain, unnumbered as are the leaves and flowers in their season. Even as the many tribes of thick flies that hover about a herdsman's steading in the spring season, when milk drencheth the pails, even in like manner stood the flowing haired Achaeans ; and even as a bull standeth out foremost amid the herd, for he is pre-eminent amid the pasturing

^{Kine}
~~time.~~" In these similes there is so much detail which is delightfully beside the point of the illustration but which adds great beauty and suggestiveness to the picture.

Both Hebrew and Greek poetry shows a close observation of nature and of the ways of the wild creatures but perhaps nowhere as in Hebrew poetry do we find such a quick imaginative sympathy for

(1) ~~Iliad Book 1. p 8.~~

(2) Iliad Book 2. p 35 f.

dumb life both in animals and plants as we find in Homer.

A favourite Homeric simile dwells on the contrast between a tree in the freshness of its vigour and the same tree when felled by the woodman's axe or by the hurricane :- "And he fell to the ground in the dust like a poplar tree that hath grown up smooth in the lowland of a great marsh and its branches grow upon the top thereof ; this hath a wainwright felled with gleaming steel."

Again we have a more elaborate treatment of the same theme -

"As when a man reareth some lusty sapling of an olive tree in a clear space where water springeth plenteously, a goodly shoot, fairgrowing and blasts of all winds shake it, yet it bursteth into white blossom ; then suddenly cometh the wind of a great hurricane and wresteth it out of its abiding place and stretcheth it out upon the earth." In illustration of the feeling for

animals we may take the simile describing the contest of a snake and of a bird which is so faithful and so sympathetic in its delineation :- "Now there were there the brood of a sparrow, tender little ones upon the topmost branch nestling beneath the leaves ; eight were they and the mother of the little ones was the ninth ; and the snake followed these cheeping pitifully.

(1) Iliad Book 4 p 79.

(2) - - 17. p 343 f.

(3) - - 2. p 31.

And the mother fluttered around waiting for her dear little ones, but he coiled himself and caught her by the wing as she screamed about him." This feeling is not confined to the wild creatures - to even the cattle, the mere coin in which man reckons his wealth is the same feeling extended. Thus we read :-(1) "Three thousand mares had he that pastured along the marsh meadow, rejoicing in their tender foals." We may compare this with the statement of a similar case from Genesis. "And Abram was very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold. And Lot also which went with Abram had flocks and herds and tents," - there is no mention here of the 'tender foals!

Section III Influence of conceptions on Life.
We have now taken a survey, necessarily brief and inadequate, of some of the fundamental conceptions of Hebrew and Greek thought, of those deep underground springs from which the more superficial actions, words and thoughts of a man's life flow. It may be well in conclusion to take a brief glance at the appearance of the surface stream, to enquire into the general behaviour and outlook of the Hebrew and the Greek towards life.

The Hebrew, in the presence of the terrible majesty of his God, shrinks back appalled at his own littleness, the attitude even of the most noble, is one of the humblest prostration, he feels the oppression of man's sinfulness, the sense that "we are all as an unclean thing and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags"; in the presence of the searching light of the Divine holiness, sin stands out in all its glaring hideousness. Moreover it is not

(1) Iliad Bo. xx. 405 f.
(2) Genesis 13. 3, 5.

(3) Isaiah Lxix. 6

only intrinsically hideous it is an offence against the Deity, and is visited by him with a terrible visitation. To the Greek, man is always god-like and though he too feels the brooding horror of sin, with him it is an offence against the ^{deity} ~~dignity~~ in man, it is a thing unworthy of man's essential dignity ; it is true that the gods send sorrow and punishment on the evil-doer but there is a tendency to regard this suffering in the modern light as the natural and inevitable consequence ^{of wrong doing} according to the eternal constitution of the Universe, rather than as inflicted by the wrath of offended Majesty. This philosophic conception is not of course developed in the Homeric poems, nor in these do we find the great horror of evil as of an unclean thing which haunts the great tragedies, but both these later developments are foreshadowed, as for instance in the speech of Odysseus : " Within thine own heart rejoice, old nurse, and be still and cry not aloud ; for it is an unholy thing to boast over slain men. Now these hath the destiny of the gods overcome and their own cruel deeds, for they honoured none of earthly men. Wherefore they have met a shameful death through their own infatuate deeds." The reward of virtue is frankly acknowledged to be the praise of men : " If any be a hard man and hard at heart all men cry evil on him for the time to come while he yet lives, and all men mock him when he is dead. But if

(1) ~~Isaiah 64. 6.~~ (1) *Odyssey* 22. p 372. (2) *Odyssey* 19. p 320.

any be a blameless man and blameless of heart his guests noise his wide fame abroad and many call him excellent." And as man is the tribunal by which actions are weighed so it is against man rather than the gods that moral offences are committed ; the reproach of the hand maid Melanthe who had 'gone the way of shame ' is that Penelope had ⁽¹⁾ "reared and entreated her tenderly " as she had been her own child and gave her playthings to her heart's desire, yet for all that the sorrow of Penelope touched not her heart but she loved Eurymachus and was his paramour ", - far other would be the Hebrew vein of denunciation. The Greek develops a delicate moral sensibility and even an enthusiasm for virtue and honour but he lacks that great horror of evil which the Hebrew feels, he even shows a tendency to take a somewhat utilitarian and common-sense view of some of the relations of life, such as is found in Odysseus' farewell to Penelope : ⁽²⁾ "Be mindful of my Father and my mother even as now thou art and yet more than now. But when thou hast thy son a bearded man, marry whom thou wilt and leave their house." One cannot but think this considerate provision unnecessary in the case of so devoted a wife. But it is always unsafe to draw inferences from the relations of the sexes in early times to the general moral of the community. Even the Hebrew sentiment in these matters is apt to jar upon modern sensibilities, though when once it has determined the bounds of morality it is unflinchingly severe on any transgression - a pitiless ^{god} power of death is the penalty.

It is not only in the region of holiness that man shrinks back from the presence of Jehovah, in the region of the mind too he feels his utter littleness - the Divine wisdom is as overwhelming as the Divine holiness. It is on this ground perhaps more than any other that the paths of Hebraism and Hellenism are most widely divergent ; to the Hebrew mind any attempt at philosophical speculation appears either as folly or impiety ; to speculate in the region of morals is unnecessary for man's appointed path is the path of obedience to the letter of God's declared commands, to speculate on the ultimate truths of the Universe is also folly because the ways of God are far above the reach of mortal thought, it is also impious because God reveals as much of His wisdom to man as He wills him to know. One of the most magnificent passages of the Hebrew scriptures is an ironic indictment of the foolishness of man's attempting to penetrate to the secrets of the Divine wisdom : There⁽¹⁾ the Lord answered Job out of the whirlwind and said : "Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge ? Gird up now thy loins like a man ; for I will demand of thee and answer thou me. Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth ? declare, if thou hast understanding. Who hath laid the measure thereof, if thou knowest ? or who hath stretched the line upon it ? Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened ? or who hath laid the corner stone thereof, when the morning stars sang together and all the sons

(1) ~~Odyssey Book 18. p 304.~~ (2) ~~Ecclesiastes 1. 13.~~

of God shouted for joy ?" - and so on through a long declamation of marvellous power and even sublimity. It is significant that the one Hebrew writer who, influenced perhaps by contemporary Greek thought, breaks through the traditional bonds of prudence and piety and sets himself to seek and to search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under Heaven, declares, as the result of his experience, that " in much wisdom is much grief : and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow " and reverts finally to the well-seasoned maxim "Fear God and keep His commandment for this is the whole duty of man " .

The Greek is free from the Divine brightness that dazzles the intellectual sight and looks out on life with a steady fearless gaze. In Homer the atmosphere is clear and serene untroubled as yet by the mists of philosophy, but when these begin to gather the keen eyes of the philosopher are ready to pierce the mists which ~~they~~^{he} creates; philosophic speculation is as the very breath of life to the cultured Greek in the golden period of Hellenism. There is scarcely any region of human thought into which the Greek mind does not penetrate bringing back precious intellectual spoils.

If the Hebrew intellect shrinks back cowed in the presence of the Divine splendour, yet the imagination is kindled and leaps up to sublime heights - even in the Book of Judges, the most primitive of the Hebrew writings we have the magnificent Song of Deborah with such utterances as "Lord, when thou wentest out of Sin, when Thou

(1) Ecclesiastes 1.18 (2) Ecclesiastes 12.13.

(2) " 1.18 (47)

marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled and the heavens dropped, the clouds also dropped water, the mountains melted from before the Lord, even that Sinai from before the Lord " and " the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. The river, Kishon swept them away, that ancient river the river Kishon. O my soul thou hast trodden down strength " ending with the jubilant cry : "So let thine enemies perish, O Lord, but let them that love Him be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might."

The Psalms, the Book of Job, the magnificent description of the theophany in the last chapter of Habbakuk furnish us with only a few of the many expressions of the Hebrew mind soaring up to reach the majesty of Jehovah in sublime imaginative flights.

Sublimity is not wanting in Greek thought; it is present in many philosophic utterances and, above all, in the great tragedies; but far more characteristic of Hellenism in general and of the Homeric poetry in particular, is the sense of beauty and loveliness. - the gods and goddesses are of 'beauty imperishable'; we hear of 'white-armed Hera', 'golden-haired Apollo', 'bright-eyed Athene', 'golden winged Iris'. Perhaps the most soaring pitch of imaginative thought, in perhaps the most vividly imaginative, of the Greek philosophers, is reached in the famous passage in the *Symposium* where Plato pictures the highest life as a life "spent in the contemplation of the beautiful," a beauty which is "simple, pure, uncontaminated with the intermixture of human flesh and colours and all other idle and unreal shapes attendant on mortality ; the divine, the original,

the supreme monodic beauty itself " and very characteristically, this beauty is, to those who are privileged to behold it, a beauty "in the knowledge and contemplation of which they repose."

A clear vision of reasonable beauty in which the mind can find complete repose is the *sumnum bonum* for the highest Greek philosopher. It is against the genius of Hellenism to " contend for a perfection that makes the blood turbid and frets the flesh " When the clear atmosphere of reason is darkened in the tragedies by the stir of deep human passions, summoning up an almost Hebraic trouble of terror, their motive is to be found, or so at least Aristotle would have us believe, in the healthful product of their action "though pity and fear effecting the proper 'Katharsis' or purgation of these emotions."

This philosophic dispassionateness after which the Greek strives is far from the nature and ideals of the Hebrew ; Jehovah is not like Aristotle's God a passionless being, His passions are human passions magnified to the compass of Deity ; His anger is as human anger only far more fierce, His love is as human love but far more tender. Something of this heightening of the emotions is reflected in His servants.

In the Hebrew teachers we meet with that intensity of fierce anger which pierces through any outward cloak of *seemliness* or glamour with which sin may be clothed to the heart of wickedness beneath - it is interesting to compare the Hebrew attitude to Jezebel with the Greek attitude to Helen - there is an almost brutal fierceness

in the Hebrew narrative :- " And when Jehu was come to Jezreel, Jezebel heard of it ; and she painted her face and tired her head and looked out through the window. And as Jehu entered in at the gate she said. 'Had Zimri peace who slew his master ?' And he lifted up his face to the window and said 'Who is on my side who ? And there looked out to him two or three eunuchs. And he said 'Throw her down. So they threw her down " Then follow rather ghastly details with which we are but too familiar, narrated with the same terseness and grim satisfaction. But Jezebel was certainly an unpleasant character, we may even have a suspicion that, for all the painting and tiring, she may at this time have been old and ugly and in any case the record is from rather a barbarous period. But the same spirit reappears in the most cultured of the prophets. Isaiah's moral earnestness shows a fine disregard for any sentimentality in approaching the 'fair sex'; his searching glance pierces through the outward loveliness of apparel to the economic fact behind - he sees only that luxury which 'grins at the faces of the poor' ; moreover beauty in dress appears to the hard practical mind mere wantonness. Hear his splendid denunciation "Moreover the Lord saith, Because the daughters of Zion are haughty and walk with stretched forth necks and wanton eyes, walking and mincing as they go and make a tinkling with their feet Therefore the Lord will smite with a scab the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion and the Lord will discover their secret part

In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments - about their feet and their cauls and their round ~~liras~~ like the moon, the chains and the bracelets and the mufflers the bonnets and the ornaments of the legs and the head-bands and the tablets and the earrings, the rings and nose-jewels, the changeable suits of apparel and the mantles and the wimples and the crisping pins, the glasses and the fine linen and the hoods and the vails. And it shall come to pass that instead of sweet smell there shall be stink ; and instead of a girdle a rent ; and instead of well-set hair, baldness ; and instead of a stomacher a girding of sackcloth ; and burning instead of beauty " - the prophet does not spare, he is not genteel or delicate ; he had made a minute and exhaustive observations of these feminine shortcomings, with fine scorn he produces his catalogue and with the harsh creak of the moralist he utters his warnings, choosing just those threats which he thinks will appeal to the class which he so much despises. A true Hellene could never have been so lacking in delicate sensibility - to him the loveliness of apparel and beauty of outward form is the fitting complement of the inward beauty of mind - even the gods take delight in these things ; Hecuba can find no more acceptable offering for the great and wise Pallas Athene, than an embroidered robe, ⁽¹⁾ 'that was fairest for ornament and greatest and shone like a star ' Zeus himself cannot resist the charms of Hera when she is beautifully clad and Hera

sword that it may pierce home with keen directness ; the Greek simile is polished as a lovely jewel in the narrative over which the author lingers with an artist's delight in its beauty. The Hebrew simile is primarily an 'illustration' in the literal sense of the word ; its sole end is to throw light on the thought which it expresses ; sometimes it is the very ordinary but eminently serviceable light of common day : nothing can exceed the homeliness of some of the Hebrew similes : - " The Lord will shave with a razor that is hired." ⁽¹⁾ "Ephraim is a cake not turned." ⁽²⁾ ⁽³⁾ "Moab is my wash-pot" ⁽⁴⁾ "For the bed is shorter than that a man can stretch himself on it, and the covering narrower than that he can wrap himself in it." ⁽⁵⁾ "Behold I am pressed under you as a cart is pressed that is full of sheaves." Homer has many a homely simile, but in all there is some redeeming touch of beauty ; thus a fly is a very homely creature, a fly annoying a sleeping child, is almost repulsive, but when Athens, warding off the arrow from a hero is compared to a mother who ⁽⁶⁾ "driveth a fly from her child that lieth in sweet slumber", we know, if only from the phrase 'sweet slumber', that we are in the region of Hellenism.

Sometimes the light of the Hebrew simile is lurid and oppressive, but this is when the message to be conveyed is itself an oppressive

(1) Isaiah 7. 20.

(4) Isaiah 28.20.

(2) Hosea 3.8.

(5) Amos 1.13.

(3) Psalm 60.8.

(6) Iliad Book 4. p 68.

one, as when the prophet would inspire the people with dread at the approach of the terrible 'day of the Lord': ⁽¹⁾ "A day of wrath, a day of trouble and distress, a day of darkness and gloominess, a day of clouds and thick darkness." ; sometimes the light is fierce with

⁽²⁾ the gleam of vengeance : "Behold I will make thee a new sharp threshing instrument having teeth : thou shalt thresh the mountains and beat them small, and shalt make the hills as chaff."

The Homeric thought lacks this variety and intensity of mood, yet, even in its greater evenness and serenity, the temper of the simile is often quite other than that of the thought expressed ; the mood of a strong warrior weeping over a battle-field of slain comrades has little in common with the temper of ^{the} exquisitely tender and delicate setting ⁽³⁾ "Wherefore weepest thou Patroklos, like a fond little maid that runs by her mother's side and bids her mother take her up, snatching at her gown and hinders her in her going, and tearfully looks at her till the mother takes her up ; like her Patroklos dost thou let fall soft tears." Here, as is so often the case with the Homeric similes, the beautiful elaboration of the setting tends to obscure rather than to set off the thought enshrined

The Hebrew simile can be exquisitely beautiful and tender, as we have seen in studying the thoughts of Jehovah in His gentler and

(1) Zephaniah 1.15. (2) Isaiah 41.15. (3) *Iliad* Book XVI p 314

more loving aspects, but the beauty and tenderness is one with that of the thought to be illustrated, it is ~~never~~ an adventitious ornament.

The Hebrew, for all his passionate earnestness can be as tender as any Greek ; this, as we have seen he learns from contact with Jehovah. If he shows ⁽¹⁾ "inflexibility, intolerance, rigid narrow-looking adherence to God's truth, stern rebuke in the name of God to all that forsake truth " ⁽²⁾ If we find in him this "true simplicity of strength with its lightening fire " we find also the ⁽²⁾ "soft dewy pity"; we find ⁽²⁾ " rock yet with wells of living softness in it " ; we find a "tenderness which can conceive of the great and awful Jehovah as stooping to gather the lambs with His arm and carry them in His bosom and ... gently lead those that are with young."

The Hebrew tenderness is simple and restrained, closely allied to pathos - we may take as an instance Judah's speech to Joseph, whom he does not recognise as his brother : ⁽³⁾ "We have a father, an old man, and a child of his old age, a little one ; and his brother is dead and he alone is left of his mother and his father loveth him. And thou~~s~~ saidest unto thy servants , 'Bring him down unto me that I may set mine eyes upon him. And we said unto my lord 'the lad cannot leave his father : for if he should leave his father, his

(3) Genesis 44. 20 ff.

(2)

(1) Carlyle, 'Heroes' - Essay on Knox
(2) " " - Burns.

father would die." Such prayers as this, beautiful in the feeling which underlies them and in the simplicity ~~in~~ with which it is expressed, appear incidentally as integral parts of the narrative and are in no way elaborated as adventitious ornaments ; it is true that it may not be strictly pertinent to a historical record that Hannah made a little coat for her small son to take to him year by year, but even a Hebrew historian may have human feelings to which perhaps this little incident, so typical of the foolish way in which mothers will behave, made a special appeal; and after all, he does not waste time over it and tell us, as a Greek would have done that it was a lovely little robe and that it was for a tender child, lovely as a star, he tries to pass it off as an ordinary historical event introduced among proper events with a 'moreover' and rapidly dismissed for greater things. The incident of Ruth forsaking her native country that she may cleave to Naomi is another case in which the tender~~ness~~^e depths of human feeling are expressed with a simplicity and earnestness which is characteristically Hebrew :

(1) "And they lifted up their voice and wept again ; and Orpah ~~dis-~~
^{Kissed}
~~missed~~ her mother-in-law, but Ruth clave to her. And she said,

'Behold thy sister-in-law is gone back unto her people and unto her gods ; return thou after thy sister-in-law'. And Ruth said 'Entreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee, for where thou goest I will go, and where thou lodgest, I will lodge : thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God : Where thou diest

(1) Ruth 1.14.

will I die and then will I be buried : the Lord do so to me and more
also, if aught but death part thee and me." When she saw that she
was steadfastly minded to go with her, then she left speaking unto
her."

This simple strong earnest tenderness of the Hebrew writers is very
different from the caressing, often playful, tenderness of Homer.
The contrast will be clearly seen if we set over against these
passages from the Hebrew scriptures, the lovely description in the
(1)
Iliad of the parting of Hector and Andromache :- " So she met him
now and with her went the handmaid, bearing in her bosom the tender
boy, the little child, Hector's loved son, like unto a beautiful
star. So now he smiled and gazed at his boy silently and Andromache
stood by his side weeping and clasped her hand in his and called
upon his name..... So spake glorious Hector and held out his arm
to the boy. But the child shrink crying to the bosom of his fair-
girdled nurse, dismayed at his dear father's aspect and in dread at
the bronze and horse-hair crest that he beheld nodding fiercely
from the helmet's top. Then his dear father laughed aloud and his
lady mother ; forthwith the glorious Hector took the helmet from
his head and laid it all gleaming upon the earth ; then kissed he
his dear son and dandled him in his arms " ; then follows Hector's
prayer that his son may be a great warrior and returning from
battle "bring with him blood-stained spoils from the foe he hath
slain and may his mother's heart be glad' So spake he and laid his
(1) Iliad Book 6. p 125. (57)

son in his dear wife's arms and she took him to her fragrant bosom smiling tearfully. And her husband had pity to see her and caressed her with his hand and spake and called upon her name 'Dear one I pray thee be not oversorrowful of heart!' This tender playfulness smiling through tears is quite foreign to the spirit of Hebraism : to the Hebrew there comes either sorrowful weeping or shouting laughter.

All the Hebrew's emotions are intensified by his habitual contact with the tremendous personality of Jehovah, his gloom is very deep and black, his joy is a terrific exultant joy which takes possession of the whole being with all the strength of a great religious emotion :- The following is a typical example of Hebrew joy :-

(1) "Sing ye Heavens ; for the Lord hath done it : shout ye lower parts of the earth : break forth into singing ye mountains, O forest and every tree therein." In a mind possessed of this tremendous joy there is little room for a simple delight like that with which the Greek goes out to meet all lovely objects, we could not imagine a Hebrew exclaiming "Dear to us ever is the banquet and the harp and the dance and changes of raiment and the warm bath and love and sleep." In his whole hearted allegiance to Jehovah the Hebrew forgets the lesser human delights ; all his interests and energies become absorbed in his religion. The history of the nation is regarded as the history of God's purposes unfolding themselves and prevailing inspite of the folly and wickedness of the people.

The Hebrew historian is more zealous for the honour of Jehovah than of the national heroes - these are portrayed with all their human failing, nothing is overlooked or excused, we have a faithful record of Jacob's contemptible meanness in betraying his blind and aged father, in order to rob his elder brother of his birthright; of Moses' impatience and lack of self control, of David's sin with Bathsheba. Pascal comments with admiration on this trait in the Hebrew character : " They preserve with faithfulness and zeal the book in which Moses declares that they have all their lives been ungrateful to God and that he knows they will be still more so after his death ; that he therefore calls Heaven and earth to witness against them that he has taught them enough However they have kept at the cost of their life this very book which dishonours them in so many ways. This is a sincerity which has no example in the world and no root in nature."

The Homeric heroes on the other hand never cease to be heroic except at the irresistible promptings to evil of one of the gods. To the Hebrew the highest destiny of the nation is to contribute to God's glory and , in order that they may best work towards that end, Jehovah Himself assists in the choice of their rulers and directs their state policy ; thus their fervent patriotism is at the same time a religious pride - "the hill of Zion is a fair place, the joy of the whole earth " but this is because "God is well known in her Palaces as a sure refuge " ; the Psalmist exhorts the people to "Pray for the peace of Jerusalem " that peace may be within her

walls and plenteousness within her palaces, but adds the motive "because of the house of the Lord our God "; the glory of Jerusalem contributes to the glory of God's house. The Hebrew had a living sense of God's presence in all the affairs of life, and though His agency was at first discerned chiefly in the great national events, yet more and more He becomes to dominate the individual life. Thus the Psalmist can say " Lord thou hast searched me and known me ; thou knowest my down-sitting and mine up-rising thou understandest my thoughts long before. Thou art about my path and about my bed and spiest out all my ways. For lo there is not a word in my tongue but thou, Lord knowest it altogether."

Thus life tends to become an existence in which " the two living realities, God and the soul are face to face, engage in everlasting colloquy." From this sense of the Divine omnipresence there develops a deep spiritual communion, the poetic expression of which has found an answering response in the spirits of all successive ages: "those piercing, lightening-like gleams of strange spiritual truth, those magnificent outlooks over the kingdom of God, those raptures at His presence and His glory, those wonderful disclosures of self-knowledge, those pure outflowings of the love of God " which we find in the Psalms are a heritage for all time.

Thus the Hebrew may almost be called a ^{specialist} spiritualist in religion and it seems the fate of specialists that what they gain in ^{lose} intensity by their concentration, they ~~live~~ in genial breadth and expansion - as Walter Pater very truly remarks "The aim of our

(1) Psalm 139. 1. &c

culture should be to obtain not only as intense but as complete a life as possible. But often the higher life is only possible at all on condition of the selection of that in which ones motives is native and strong and this selection involves the renunciation of a ^{CROWN} ~~even~~ reserved for others." It is abundantly evident that the Hebrew motive was native and strong in the realm of religion and that in selecting this motive his life gained in intensity ; it is equally evident that he lost thereby the life of 'man complete as man' The Hebrew devotion to Jehovah in its lower aspects had always a tendency to degenerate into a dutiful but dreary performance of the tasks which He imposed and regulated in their every detail; and as every word which issued from the mouth of Jehovah had equal weight and as every word of the Law did, according to the Hebrew conception, issue from the mouth of Jehovah, there is no distinction between moral and ritual injunctions, between making clean the 'outside of the cup and platter' and the purifying of the inward parts. In the Book of the Law side by side with such commands as :

"Ye shall do no unrighteousness in judgement : thou shalt not respect the person of the poor , nor honour the person of the mighty but in righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbour " ⁽²⁾ and " Thou shalt not avenge nor bear any grudge against the children of thy neighbour people but thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself we find placed, on exactly the same level of obligation, sanctioned

(1) Leviticus 19.15.

(2) Leviticus 19.18.

by the simple statement "I am the Lord " the commands ⁽¹⁾ "thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind. Thou shalt not sow thy field with mingled seed : neither shall a garment of linen and woollen come upon thee " and ⁽²⁾ "ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard." It is the weight of unrationalised authority which lies so heavy upon Hebrew art and seem to crush out from it all joy and spontaneity. Nothing can be more tedious than the account of the directions delivered by Jehovah for the building and furniture of the Tabernacle : ⁽³⁾ "And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold ; of beaten work shall the candlestick be made : his shaft and his branches, his bowls, his ~~knops~~ and his flowers shall be of the same.... And in the candlestick shall be four bowls made like unto almonds, with their knops and their flowers. And there shall be a knop under two branches of the same and a knop under two branches of the same, and a knop under two branches of the same according to the six branches that proceed out of the candlestick. Their knops and their branches shall be of the same ; all shall be of one beaten work of fine gold." There is the constant refrain " See thou make it after the pattern that was shewed thee in the Mount ", "See thou make it of pure gold ". This is art robbed of all its joy of freedom and spontaneity and made pure morality or, as it has been happily termed, 'oughting'. Even where there appears an obvious delight it is in barbaric splendour such as that of Solomon rather than in artistic loveliness (1) Leviticus 19.19. (2) Leviticus 19.27. (3) Exodus 25. 31ff.

(11)

It is with obvious relish that the historian tells us "And King Solomon made two hundred targets of beaten gold ; six hundred shekels of gold went to one target. And he made three hundred shields of beaten gold ; three pounds of gold went to one shield.. Moreover the King made a great throne of ivory and overlaid it with the best gold." ; " And all King Solomon's drinking vessels were of gold, and all the vessels of the house of the fonest of Lebanon were of pure gold ; none were of silver ; it was nothing accounted of in the days of Solomon." With the Hebrew the emphasis is always on solid worth and costliness rather than on beauty, when the attitude of the Greek ladies is 'glistering' or 'shining', that of the Hebrew princess is ^{of} 'wrought ~~of~~ gold! The Greek is as scrupulous as the Hebrew with regard to the perfection of his workmanship but perfection with him is the outcome of the pride and delight of the craftsman in his art rather than the conscientiousness of the servant working under the eye of his master : his brooches are 'fitted with well bent clasps' his helmet is 'close fitting to the temples, he delights in 'well-fitting doors, the well-built roof. That a thing should be perfect of its kind is to the Greek an aspect of its beauty, it has nothing to do with morality. To the Greek it seems fitting that this goodly human life should be lovely in all its surroundings and accessories ; he delights in the " fragrant raiment' the ' broidered robe' and even in the 'shining blankets',

(1) Kings 10. 21.

his bread is in 'beautiful baskets'; ^{1/1} when Penelope climbs the 'tall staircase of her upper chamber' she takes 'the well-bent key in her strong hand, a goodly key of bronze whereon was a handle of ivory : she turns the key of the 'shining doors' and the bolts shoot back : "And even as a bull roars that is grazing in a meadow so mightily roared the fair doors smitten by the key ; and speedily they flew open before her. Then she stepped on to the high floor, where the coffers stood, wherein the fragrant raiment was stored. Thence she stretched forth her hand and took the bow from off the pin all in the bright case which sheathed it round ". The scene gives some idea of the Greek instinct for artistic loveliness in all the surroundings of life in which the Hebrew seems to have been lacking.

The Law cannot be held entirely responsible for the Hebrews tendency to 'philistinism' in matters of art, but it was certainly calculated to suppress that freedom and spontaneity which is so vital to artistic progress and expansion. If it helped to crush out some of the joyousness from art, it did not, as it might have been expected to do, make for joylessness in life. We have already seen that the law could become the object of a passionate devotion and the well-spring of a deep spiritual joy. But, such are the limitations of human life that even this crown of achievement could only be won at the cost of renouncing that other crown which

(1) Iliad Book 21. p 21,22.

was reserved for Hellenism to wear : the crown of a full humanity. The Hebrew who reaches to the highest pitch of spirituality of which Hebraism is capable becomes absorbed in the religious life and tends to lose that 'disinterested interest' in human nature in all its phases, in its weakness as well as in its grandeur, * which forms a large part of the charm of Hellenism. The Hebrew could tell a most charming story and had the most vivid dramatic sense, but his stories were either allegories or records of history, his drama is woven into his historic narrative and partakes of its truth and didactic purpose. His seriousness is too deep for comedy; such humour as appears in the narrative is grim and ironic like Elijah's taunts to the prophets of Baal on the helplessness of their god :

(1) "And it came to pass at noon that Elijah mocked them and said, 'Cry aloud ; for he is a god : either he is talking or he is pursuing or he is in a journey, or peradventure he sleepeth and must be awaked ", or Job's characteristic thrust ⁽²⁾ "Canst thou draw out Leviathan with an hook ?... Will he make many supplications unto thee ? Will he speak soft words unto thee ?... Wilt thou play with him as a bird or wilt thou bind him for thy maidens ?"

But while the Hebrew takes life 'au grand sérieux', to the Greek, life is a drama in which he is both a keen participator and a delighted spectator. The Homeric epic is full of the spontaneous joy of life, and of the energy of human action ; it shews such an evident relish for the conflict of the battlefield, the crash of weapons and the

(1) 1 Kings 18.27. (2) Job 41. ff. ~~(3) Iliad Book 18. p 500. ff.~~

blaze of shining armour, for every display of human strength or skill for all that is lovely in the external adornment of life, in colour, form, or sound. The appreciation of the spectacular effects of human life is well seen in the ⁽¹⁾description of the shield which Hephaistos makes for Hector ; this shield reflects the varied surface of human life as it appeared to the Greeks. First there is the city in times of peace, with its espousals and marriage feasts, its torchlight procession and bridal song and dance with "the women standing each at her door marvelling ", meanwhile the townsfolk gather in the place of assembly where there is strife between two men, each expounds his cause, the people cheer, the heralds keep order, the elders give judgement.

In contrast to the first scene is the picture of a city in time of siege with the wives and children and old men on the wall, the warriors going forth to battle and lying in ambush for the enemy, the slaughter of their flocks and the pitched battle.

Then follow scenes of husbandry ; of ploughing, reaping and of vintage ; we see the kine going out to pasture and being attacked by lions ; there is also "a great pasture of white sheep and a steading and roofed huts and folds " Lastly there is the lovely dance ⁽²⁾ place where youths and maidens in fair raiment dance "with deft feet exceeding lightly ", " and a great company stood round the lovely dance in joy."

This delight in the surface appearance of human life leads in a

later time to the creation of comedies and deepens into that more serious interest in the stir of human passions which we find in the great tragedians *finally* to the reasoned reflection on life of the philosophers. Greek philosophy at its highest stands for the **d**ignity of human life, for the full developement and expansion of man's nature in an ordered proportion and harmony, this harmonious perfection being reflected both in the individual and in the community. Thus Hellas may well be called

"The nurse of man complete as man "

in contrast to

"Judea, pregnant with the living God."

Section IV Hebraism & Hellenism in Milton

The Reformation and the Renaissance are the floodgates through which Hebraism and Hellenism pour the streams of their influence on English thought. By the beginning of the seventeenth century these floodgates have been wide open for more than half a century, and the effect of their influence is apparent in English literature. From the fact that the Reformation is a religious movement, while the Renaissance is purely secular, there arises a ground of possible conflict. The study of the Hebrew scriptures is enforced with all the weight of religious authority ; to the devout Protestant of the 17th century these writings are as sacred and inspired as ever they were to the Hebrew : he has direct access to them in his native tongue and is now longer dependent on the priests for their exposition. The Authorised Version of the Bible, published in 1611, thus becomes a national possession closely studied by the people, and intimately bound up with their thoughts. But while all the strength of the Protestant religion is lent in support of the spread of Hebraism by means of the scriptures, yet this strength proves in certain directions a source of weakness : a certain class of cultured lay mind, views with suspicion as Church property that which, coming on its own merits as literature, it might welcome with eager interest and delight. Similarly the religious mind would tend to view with suspicion the literature of Hellenism, the study of which was associated with a movement so very antagonistic to the religious interests as was the Renaissance in certain of its aspects. The separation which was thus affected was deeply

injurious to both movements : the movement of Hebraism suffered for lack of the broadening and humanising tendencies of the Hellenic influence, while the movement of Hellenism suffered for lack of the strength and deep religious seriousness which Hebraism was so well calculated to impart.

It is the characteristic greatness of Milton's personality that in him the streams of Hebraism and Hellenism met and mingled, not indeed without strife nor always on an absolute equality of terms, but sufficiently for the development of both religion and culture depth and breadth, strength and sweetness sufficient to satisfy the desires even of Matthew Arnold. It is this mingling of the ^{streams} ~~stream~~ which produces that peculiarly Miltonic quality of classic beauty united with Hebrew strength. Milton was by temperament and religious conviction a Hebraist : he belonged to that Puritan camp of the religious party the Hebraic sternness of whose temper seemed in no degree softened by the spirit of Christianity in its gentler, mystic moods. In his highest spiritual flights he attains like the Hebrew psalmists and prophets to visions of the Divine presence and majesty ; like them he has an intimate sense of the Divine presence and guidance in all the affairs of life ; he accepts the Hebrew ideal of unquestioning obedience to the will of God ; he has the Hebrews' earnestness and passionate sincerity ; their fierce anger against the enemies of the Lord ; - these being similarly identified with the enemies of the writer - their uncompromising

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sternness towards merely external beauty if it has any taint of wickedness : feminine beauty and adornment must be allied to virtue or they become mere wantonness : in treating of the domestic relations he has the Hebrew dignity, simplicity and restraint. In one prominent Hebrew virtue - that of humility - Milton is conspicuously lacking ; there is no sign in him of that recoil of the creature, deeply conscious of his own sinfulness, in the presence of the Divine holiness : he has the Hebrew horror of sin but no conviction of sin in his own person ; his self esteem is boundless, he has the indomitable pride of a haughty old Roman. It is evident that many of Milton's Hebraic traits are incompatible with the Hellenic spirit : a nature governed by stern religious principles is seldom ⁽¹⁾ "tempered by wide human sympathy nor yet sweetened with humour " ; intense earnestness finds little place for a tender playfulness ; passionate anger is destructive of cheerful serenity. It is on the side of his culture that Milton approaches Hellenic ground. In so far as Hellenism stands for the development of the artistic instinct Milton is a thorough Hellenist. His work lives not for its moral ideas or system of Protestant ~~these~~ theology but rather for its sheer beauty ; he admits a "passion for the good and beautiful " and this passion leads him to range freely the fields of the literature of all countries and ages and to dwell with especial delight in the realm of Hellenic

(1) Barrett Wendell

art.

In breaking away from the restraints and limitations of Hebraism into the light and freedom of Hellenism, Milton did not violate his Puritan principles ; he had not fallen into that "cardinal error" of the narrower Puritanism which "lay in a narrow conception of God as the God of righteousness alone and not as also the God of joy and beauty and intellectual light." ; nor for him is the will of God to be found only in the letter of the Law of Moses ; the decrees of this will were also written in the book of nature and of the human mind ; moreover the individual was allowed considerable freedom to interpret the writing by the light of his reason and inner spiritual consciousness. For Milton this light shed a Hebraic halo of sanctity over the alluring form of Hellenism. It will be our purpose to study the influence of Hebraism and Hellenism in Milton's poetry and, since in no poet perhaps, more than in Milton, are conduct and art so closely related, it may be found helpful to take a rapid preliminary survey of the influence of these principles in his life. The task is rendered easy by the strong autobiographical tendencies in his works both prose and poetical.

The seeds both of a Hebraic Puritanism and of a Hellenic culture which bear early fruit in Milton's life, appear to have been planted with diligent care by a father who combined an earnest

(1) Dowden's 'Puritan and Anglican' p 12.

Puritanism with a broad mind and liberal culture, who besides having his son 'virtuously brought up to lead a godly and Christian life' was zealous to foster in him a love of the arts of literature and music. The seeds of paternal care fell on good ground and sprang up quickly. Milton's love of music which he acquired as a boy, never deserted him ; his poetry is full of allusions to it. His love of learning was such that he confesses " From the age of twelve I hardly ever left my studies or went to bed before midnight ", adding that it was the "ardour of curiosity " which sustained him in spite of weak eyes and frequent headaches. Of the poets he says "No recreation came to me better welcome." It is abundantly evident that his studies were a source of very real delight to him. In his ~~tractate~~ ^{tractate} on education, where he lays down principles which seem to be largely based on his own experience, he recommends that scholars be led to perceive that the path of learning - "laborious indeed at the first ascent," is yet afterwards - " so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospect and melodious sounds on every side that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming." Thus if Milton, scorning the pastimes of those who

"Sport with Amaryllis in the shade
Or with the tangles of Neera's hair"-

chooses rather -

"To scorn delights and live laborious days "

it is very largely because his temperament is sober and thoughtful like that of 'Il Penseroso' who craves as one of his chief pleasures

when the air will not permit him to walk abroad and listen to the song of the nightingale or the far-off curfew sound, to -

"Let my lamp at midnight hour
Be seen in some high lonely tower,
Where I may oft outwatch the Bear
With thrice great Hermes, or unsphere
The spirit of Plato "

The Puritanism of Milton thus allowed room for a truly Hellenic breadth of culture. Milton became well versed in the literature of Greece and Rome, of France and Italy, besides the earlier literature of his own country, - the "lofty fables and romances which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood " - the works of Chaucer, of " sweetest Shakespeare" and of 'learned Jonson'. He has the Hellenic nature which yearns instinctively after all forms of the good and the beautiful. In a letter to Diodati in September 1637 he writes :- ⁽¹⁾ "Whatever the Deity may have bestowed upon me in other respects, He has certainly inspired me, if any ever were inspired, with a passion for the good and beautiful. Nor did Ceres, according to the fable, ever seek her daughter Persephone with such unceasing solicitude as I have sought this idea of the beautiful in all the forms and appearances of things." At the age of seventeen Milton proceeds to Cambridge ; having devoted seven years to his University he lives in cultured retirement.

(1) Quoted in Graham's Autobiography of John Milton. p 49.

ment at Horton for another five years, and then proceeds to travel on the continent. We are scarcely surprised to find himself obliged to meet the charge of his friend indicated in his letter of defence against the charge - "⁽¹⁾ That too much love of learning is in fault and that I have given up myself to dream away my years in the arms of studious retirement like Endymion with his moon."

That the charge was not entirely a just one is seen by Milton's ready renunciation of the delights of foreign travel at the call of his country's need : "I thought it base " - he says - "to be travelling for amusement abroad when my countrymen were fighting for liberty at home." And yet in spite of this re-assurance that a stern Puritan sense of duty was constantly alive in Milton, we find the Hellenist re-appearing in a rather startling way when he confesses the sequel to his return:⁽²⁾ "As soon as I was able I hired a spacious house in the city for myself and my books : when I again with rapture renewed my literary pursuits and when I calmly awaited the issue of the contest which I trusted to the wise conduct of Providence and to the courage of the people."

However much of the Hellenist there may have been in Milton he is always ready to defend his Hellenism on Hebraistic grounds ; at times the defence seems to limp in rather lamely ; at times it appears as unnecessary almost nervously scrupulous provision for self-justification ; when he has been carried away with enthusiasm for the admired virtues and excellencies of the ancients , he adds

(1) Quoted in Graham's Autobiography of John Milton. p 42.

(2) " " " (75) " " " p 60.

+ 7

a little clause to say that these may be practised "with far more advantage now in this purity of Christian knowledge" ; he confesses to his friend Diodati that he is kept in the paths of learning by his passion for the good and beautiful, in his published tractate on Education he forces these sentiments into a more religious mould :- "The *End* of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright and out of that knowledge to love Him, to be like Him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection." This apparent sophistry does not argue any lack of sincerity on Milton's part but is a sign of the over-scrupulous conscience of the man who seeks to reconcile his artistic instincts with the moral and religious principles which he has accepted as the rule of life and who, not content to trust his instincts for beauty and to believe that between these and his moral principles there is a higher synthesis, which he cannot as yet perceive, tries to clothe the free proportions of his instincts in the straitened garments of principle in which they assume an unnatural, affected, and even hypocritical air.

If Milton would fain persuade himself and others that principle played a greater part in his life than is actually the case, it is abundantly evident that the part which it played was a very large one and that, if his artistic instincts and his moral principles meet in conflict, the victory was almost invariably that of principle. It is difficult to believe that even the "ardour of curiosity" could

keep a boy of twelve at his studies till midnight in spite of weak eyes and frequent headaches unless he were sustained by a steadfastness of purpose and by that bracing of the moral fibre which Puritanism could so well impart. Moreover there seems to have been present continually with Milton the sense that in his studies he was fitting himself to perform future tasks of service to God and man. In a passage from *Paradise Regained* which has an autobiographical ring, he declares :-

"When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing ; all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
What might be public good; myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth
All righteous things."

Milton if any man, seems to have attained the ideal of -

"Of toil unsevered from tranquility

Too great for haste, too high for rivalry ." -

and though at the age of twenty three we find him tempted to grow restless and anxious, that his late spring shews neither bud nor blossom to fortell the ripe fruit of his many literary labours, yet his anxiety is quieted by that calm submission to the will of God which is the key-note of his life :-

"Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,

It shall be still in strictest measure even

(1) *Paradise Regained* Book 1. 199 ff.

(2) Sonnet - On his having arrived at the age of twenty three)

"To that same lot, however mean or high
Toward which Time leads me and the will of Heaven,
All is if I have grace to use it so
As ever in my great Task-Master's eye."

If even the flowery and discursive paths of his literary studies are approved by the eye of his great Task-Master, yet Milton was in no way neglectful of his Hebrew scriptures, for the better study of which he took the pains to acquire the Hebrew tongue. When in the passage from ~~Samson's Agonistes~~ ^{Paradise Regained} which has already been quoted he continues -

"Therefore above my years
The law of God I read, and ^{found} ~~find~~ it sweet,
Made it my whole delights." -

The statement, modifying perhaps the final clause, may with perfect truth be applied to Milton's own life. Even at the age of fifteen we find~~ing~~ him translating the Psalms into English verse, a ~~picture~~ practice which he continued in middle life. In his tract on Education he recommends that in the daily programme the evenings be set aside for religious study, that the thought of the scholars, which have been occupied during the day with the wisdom of the ^{be} ~~be~~ ^{ancients}, "reduced in their nightward studies, wherewith they close the day's work, under the determinate sentence of David or Solomon or the evangelists or apostolic scriptures."

The subject of the poetical works of his great final literary

period testifies to his growing absorption in the great themes of the Scriptures for we know that earlier in life he had meditated a great epic which should deal with the early legendary history of his own country.

It is not only in his studies that the Puritan earnestness of Milton is displayed ; he himself declares - "I was confirmed in this opinion that he who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things ought himself to be a true poem ". The entire course of his life is conspicuous for its scrupulous moral purity in an age when unbridled licence prevailed at Cambridge he was nick-named the 'lady of Christ's' on this account, and, if he appears over indulgent to himself in his evasion of the burden of his unfortunate marriage choices, he justifies his action, to himself no less than to others, on the highest moral grounds, posing as the champion of civil liberty. We have already seen how at the call of duty he returns from his travels to be ready to render any service that his country might require of him. That his principles held a very real and stern sway over his life, is testified by the fact that for twenty years of what is usually considered the period of a man's fullest vigour, between the age of thirty-two and fifty-two, he abandons almost entirely his poetic career and devotes himself to the publication of pamphlets on behalf of liberty both religious, domestic, and civil, and to the arduous labours of his Latin secretaryship, in

the performance of which the sacrifice of his eyesight is completed. His blindness is accepted with religious resignation - his temptation to murmur is not on any grounds of the loss of personal pleasure but rather of the loss of a talent wherewith he had hoped to serve his Maker ; here again his anxieties are quieted by ^{a religious} the calm of ~~religious resignation~~ and we have the noble utterance :-

(1) "God doth not need

Either man's works or his own gifts. Who best
Bear His mild yoke, they serve Him best. His state
Is kingly : thousands at His bidding speed
And post o'er land and ocean without rest ;
They also serve who only stand and wait."

Here we have at its best the Hebraic spirit of child-like unquestioning submission to the will of God. Fortunately for posterity Milton found a more profitable way of service than merely to stand and wait : at the age of 50, in spite of his blindness, he engaged seriously on that poetic work of his final period which was to be the crown of all his endeavours, a work for which he had been preparing himself from his youth upwards. So in the closing years of his life we see with admiration and astonishment -

"the poet blind, yet bold

In slender book his vast design unfold "

That design which was no less than to -

(1) Sonnet on his blindness.

"assert Eternal Providence

And justify the ways of God to men."

How far the carrying out of this lofty Hebraic ideal was tempered with the Hellenic spirit we shall endeavour to estimate in tracing the influence of Hebraism and Hellenism throughout his poetic work. In the poetry of Milton as in his life we can see the elements of Hebraism and Hellenism, represented by his Puritan principle and his artistic instincts, sometimes mingling in conflict with one or the other gaining the ascendancy, sometimes mingling in peaceful harmony. On the whole there seems a tendency for the Hellenic strain to dominate in the youthful work, which is conspicuous for its sweetness; the Hebraic in the work of his more serious age, which is conspicuous for its strength. In ^{the} early writings the Puritan at times seems to absent himself and we have love sonnets in the classical or Italian vein or the 'Song on May Morning' celebrating the joys of -

"Mirth and youth and warm desire "

The pictures of the varied delights of life whether grave or gay, which we find in *Il Penseroso*, and *L'Allegro*, might figure without incongruity on a second shield of Hephaistos; even in the lament for his learned friend where we might expect thoughts of death to awaken the religious seriousness of Milton's Puritan nature, we find a mournful 'Doric lay' with invocations to shepherds, nymphs, and dolphins, to groves, streams, and the wanton winds. When the Puritan feeling emerges, it does not blend with the meditative classic vein but breaks out suddenly with a harsh cry, denouncing the hirelings

of the Church with something of the fierceness of a Hebrew prophet,
and with his impatient disregard of men beauty of imagery :-

"Their lean and flashy songs

Grate on their scranell pipes of wretched straw ;

The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,

But swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,

Rot inwardly and foul contagion spread ;

Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw

Daily devours apace and nothing said.

But that two-handed engine at the door

Stands ready to smite once and smite no more."

Then almost apologetically, the traces of this volcanic outburst
are hastily covered with all the beauties of the vales , and then
follows the lovely flower passage which transports us to the pleas-
ant fields of Hellenism. In the famous Nativity Ode, though the
subject is religious the treatment is anything but Puritanical -
we have almost pure Hellenism in such a stanza as :-

"The shepherds on the lawn

Or ere the point of dawn

Sat simply chatting in a rustic row ;

Full little thought they than

That the mighty Pan

Was kindly come to live with them below :

Perhaps their loves, or else their sheep

"Was all that did their silly thoughts so busy keep."

We read the Ode not to kindle a religious mood but rather for the sheer beauty of phrase and rhythm. Finally in Comus we have a happy mingling of the strains of Hebraism and Hellenism : the most approved moral principles appearing clothed in the loveliest artistic form - in this form we have that teaching which is , as Milton so delightfully phrases it, of ⁽¹⁾ "such delight to those especially of soft and delicious temper who will not so much as look upon truth herself, unless they see her elegantly gressed."

The occasional sonnets which relieve the period of long silence in Milton's poetical career, flash forth with all the fire and fierceness of Hebraism ; Mark Pattison says of them ⁽²⁾ " They remind us of a Hebrew psalm, with its undisguised outrush of rage, revenge, exultation, or despair, where nothing is due to artifice or art and whose poetry is the expression of the heart and not a branch of literature." As we should be inclined to repudiate the statement that nothing is due to art or artifice in the poetry of the Hebrew psalm, so we should resist the application of this reflection to a sonnet with such an opening as :

"Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold."

But in its broad application the reflection is a true one.

(1) Reason of Church Government - quoted in Graham's Autobiography of Milton p 83.

(2) Mark Pattison's Milton - English Men of Letters. p 670.

In the magnificent poetic productions of Milton's final creative period the Hebrew strain has a marked ascendancy. The very titles of his works - 'Paradise Lost', 'Paradise Regained' and 'Samson Agonistes', suggest the poet's mood and this mood doubtless is strengthened by the necessity, which the choice of theme imposes, of living continually in the atmosphere of the sacred books of the Scriptures.

Milton's outward circumstances at this time were peculiarly favourable to the developement of the religious side of his nature shut off by his blindness from contact with things seen and material, he was driven into closer communion with things unseen and spiritual :-

"From the cheerful ways of men
Cut off, and, for the book of knowledge fair,
Presented with a universal blank
Of Nature's works, to me expunged and rased,
And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.
So much the rather thou, Celestial Light,
Shine inward, and the mind ^htrough^h all her powers
Irradiate ; there plant eyes ; all mist from thence
Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight."

This withdrawal from the things of sense occasioned by his blindness is accompanied by his withdrawal from the current of contemporary

events whose strong tide he now felt himself powerless to control. Before half the period of time employed in the composition of Paradise Lost has elapsed, the monarchy was restored in the person of Charles 2, and this event was the signal for the complete overthrow of those national ideas both political, civil and domestic, for which Milton had so earnestly striven. In reading the famous invocation in the seventh book of Paradise Lost, we feel how deeply he despaired of the times :

(1) "I sing with mortal voice, unchanged
To hoarse or mute, though fallen on evil days,
On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues,
In darkness and with dangers compassed round,
And solitude."

So, with the apathy of despair, he loses interest in the temporal things around him and, seeking to

"drive far off the barbarous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his revellers ",

So writes for his "fit audience though few " of the eternal truths of God's providence. The "barbarous dissonance " is not driven so far off that it cannot at times be heard ; at these times something of the bitterness of the pamphlets breaks forth in the poetry. We have an example of this in the famous passage comparing court manners to those of the sons of Belial :-

(1) Paradise Lost l. 490 ff.

'Belial came last ; than whom a spirit more
Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
Vice for itself.....

In courts and palaces he also reigns,
And in luxurious cities, where the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage ; and, when night
Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine."

For the most part the Hebraism of Paradise Lost breaks away from the
narrow temper of concentrated bitterness found in the pamphlets,
and soars, with the Hebraic splendour of sublime imagination, above
the things of earth :-

"above the flight of Pegasus wing "

and "into the Heaven of Heavens." ;

making excursions too into the realms of "Chaos and ^{old} ~~eternal~~ Night "

voyaging "

the unreal, vast, unbounded deep

Of horrible confusion." ;

plunging down

"Through utter and through middle darkness borne"

to the pit of "bottomless perdition." Even where standing on

earth and in

"narrower bound

Within the visible Diurnal Sphere

"Standing on Earth, not rapt above the pole,"

he sings in heroic vein, and temporal issues are viewed in the light of eternity.

It is in his description of the Courts of Heaven and the majesty of Deity that we expect and find the clearest traces of the influence of the Hebraic imagination on Milton. It is, however, in his amazing pictures of the wasteful regions of Chaos, and of the terror and desolation of Hell, that there appears most conspicuously that peculiarly Miltonic imaginative quality which defies analysis or description. Into this quality there has been absorbed the material of Milton's rich and varied studies, but so completely has this material been assimilated and clothed with the poet's individuality that it is almost impossible to re^ocompose into its elements any product of his imagination and detect the particular contribution of any one source. While Milton's art gains in richness and fullness by being fed from so many sources, his imaginative expression loses that stark nakedness, that flash of white light, which is so effective in the Hebrew poetry. Although the contrast between the Miltonic and Hebrew imagination can only be felt by the cumulative effect of large portions of their work, the nature of this contrast may perhaps be suggested by a single instance. Sin appears to the imagination of Isaiah in all the nakedness of "wounds and bruises and putrifying sores ...not closed, neither bound up neither mollified with ointment " ; to Milton it appears personified in the form of a horrid monster, whom we suspect to

(1) 1 Isaiah 1. 6. (86)

have relations with the "gorgons, hydras, and chimeras dire" of Vergil's infernal regions, and who is invested with an elaborate mythology in the manner of the later classicism. The effect is wonderfully vivid and ghastly but it is scarcely Hebraic.

The constant mingling of classic mythology with his religious theme has been the subject of much controversy from the earliest days of Miltonic criticism ; the fact of this mingling is an indication of the inseparable union of Hebraism and Hellenism in Milton's mind and art. Whatever be the subject for description, he draws on the varied literary resources of his mind regardless of their origin, and if, when his theme is a high one classical images are those which rise most readily to his mind, it is because of the deep impression made by their beauty, and because he feels them, by reason of this beauty to be the most worthy of his theme. ^{yet} ~~Not~~ such is the moral ascendancy of the Hebraic spirit at this period, that Milton is troubled by occasional pricks of his Puritan conscience which lead him to introduce with his classical allusions, a parenthetical remark on the fictitious nature of their subject. He thus describes the 'blissful bower' to which Adam and Eve retire in the cool of the evening :

(1) "In shadier bower

More sacred and sequestered, though but feigned,

Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor Nymph

Nor Faunus haunted."

(1) Paradise Lost. 4. 705. ff. (83)

In comparing the fruit in the garden of Eden with that in the garden of Hesperus , his comment is :-

"Hesperian fables true ,

If true, here only."

In picturing the beauties of Eden, he indulges freely his fondness for accumulating a wealth of literary allusions, but humours the Hebraic side of his nature by making the comparison wholly favourable to the Scriptural garden :-

"Not that fair field

Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gathered - which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world - nor that sweet grove
Of Daphne, by Orontes and the inspired
Castalian spring, might with this Paradise
Of Eden strive ; nor that Nyseian isle
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Libyan Jove,
Hid Almathea, and her florid son,
Young Bacchus, from her stepdame Rhea's eye ;
Nor, where Abassin kings their issue guard,
Mount Amara, (though this by some supposed
True Paradise), under the Ethiop line
By Nilus head, enclosed with shining rock,

A whole day's journey high, but wide remote,
From this Assyrian garden, where the Fiend
Saw, undelighted, all delight."

We feel a little doubtful as to whether Milton was sincerely convinced of the superiority of Eden at least over "that fair field of Enna", we feel a similar doubt as to whether his motive in accumulating instances of ostensibly inferior beauty was purely for the glorification of the garden of Eden. The conflict of Hebraism and Hellenism even in this late period is a conflict whose issues are always uncertain. Using a somewhat homely simile we might say that, though Hellenism is seldom allowed out without a Hebraic chaperone, yet the charge sometimes proves unruly and often obtains a wider measure of freedom than the chaperone is aware of.

As an instance of Hellenism under strict control we may take the prophetic vision, in the ⁽¹⁾eleventh book of Paradise Lost, of the evil course of human affairs which should follow from the sin of Adam. The description is little else than a translation of the passage in the Iliad description of scenes of life in all its varied aspects of peace and war, of city and country life, which are portrayed on the shield ~~ef~~ made by Hephaistos for Hector. Perhaps nothing in Homer so well expresses the Hellenic spirit in the days of its youthful freshness when it views with the keen delight of an eager spectator the varied surface of human life, pleased with all its

(1) Paradise Lost. ll. 671.ff.

stir and motion, whether of military or civil strife or the peaceful activities of husbandry. In Milton the scenes are scarcely altered in any essential factors, but they are seen with the eyes of a moralist. The passage concludes :-

"So violence

Proceeded and oppression, and sword-law,

Through all the plain, and refuge none was found.

Adam was all in tears, and to his guide

Lamenting turned full sad :- 'Oh, what are these ?

Death's ministers not men, ^{that} ~~and~~ multiply

Ten thousandfold the sin of him who slew

His brother ; for of whom such massacre

Make they but of their brethren, men of men ? "

The angel explains that these bloodthirsty warriors are the product of an age which thinks more of ^rmatial valour than of moral virtue.

As a general rule in Paradise Lost we may say that while the main trend of the thought is Hebraic, the poetic form and adornment of the narrative is in the spirit of Hellenism .

Milton's similes have a tendency to approximate to the Homeric type, where details are added which are superfluous or irrevelant, for the purpose of illustration, but give great beauty and charm to the picture. The mood of Milton's simile is in closer sympathy with the subject illustrated, than is the case with Homer, but Milton constantly yields to the temptation of making of his similes

a finished artistic whole, where the beauty of the setting distracts the mind from the central thought.

Thoroughly reminiscent of Homer is the following :-

.....".The angelic squadron bright
Turned fiery red, sharpening in mooned horns
Their phalanx, and began to hem him round
With ported spears, as thick as when a field
Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends
Her bearded grove of ears which way the wind
Sways them ; the careful ploughman doubting stands
Lest on the threshing-floor his hopeful sheaves
Prove chaff."

Some idea of the profession of artistic adornment which Milton at times lavished upon his verse, drawing images of beauty from the most varied sources, may be seen in the description of the assembly of fallen angels in Pandemonium, at the end of the first book of Paradise Lost :-

- (1) "All access was thronged ; the gates
And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall
(Though like a covered field, where champions bold
Wont ride in armed, and at the 'Soldan's' chair
Defied the best of Paynim chivalry
To mortal combat or career with lance),

Thick swarmed, both on the ground and in the air,
Brushed with the hiss of rustling wings. As bees
In spring-time, when the Sun with Taurus rides,
Pour forth their populous youth about the hive
In clusters ; they among fresh dews and flowers
Fly to and fro, or on the smoothed flank,
The suburb of their straw-built citadel,
New rubbed with balm, expatiate and confer
Their state-affairs : so thick the airy crowd
Swarmed and were straitened ; till, the signal given,
Behold a wonder ! They but now who seemed
In bigness to surpass Earth's giant sons,
Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberless - like that pygmean race
Beyond the Indian mount ; or fairy-elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest-side
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees,
Or dreams he sees, while overhead the Moon
Sits arbitress, and nearer to the Earth
Wheels her pale course ; they on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocund music charm his ear;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
Thus incorporeal spirits to smallest forms

Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without number still, amidst the hall

Of that infernal court."

In this passage Milton's Hellenism breaks quite free from its Hebraic bounds ; he is carried by his artistic instincts, his love of the beautiful, far away from any pious attempt to make the picture of Hell a terror to evildoers.

Milton's mind was not so sternly bent on the narrow path of duty that he could not linger to enjoy the flowering beauties of the wayside ; these delightful pauses prove no serious hindrance to the march, but serve rather for needful rest and refreshment.

The great Hebraic theme which is to tell

"Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit

Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste

Brought death into the World, and all our woe " ;

proceeds with undiminished steadfastness of purpose. In the development of this theme we can trace the forms of the fundamental Hebrew conceptions and can feel the dominance of the Hebraic temper. Thoroughly in the Hebrew vein is the complete absence of mysticism in Milton's attitude to the Deity, viewed in His own individual life, in His relation to Nature, and in His communion with men. If Milton is less stricken with awe in the presence of the Almighty than was the Hebrew, it is largely because, with his

proud self-righteousness, he lacks that deep humility and sense of sin which causes the Hebrew to shrink back in the presence of the Divine holiness. All his main conceptions and images however are borrowed from the pages of Scripture. To him, as to the Hebrew God appears high and lifted up, surrounded by a train of worshipping spirits ; from this height He looks down upon His works, and directs their operations :-

"Now had the Almighty Father from above,
From th pure Empyrean where he sits
High throned above all heighth, bent down His eye,
His own works and their works at once to view :
About Him all the sanctities of Heaven
Stood thick as stars."

For the direction of His works He declares His purposes, and issues decrees which are received with reverence and joy :-

"No sooner had the Almighty ceased but - all
The multitude of Angels, with a shout
Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
As from blest voices, uttering joy - Heaven rung
With jubilee, and loud hosannas filled
The eternal regions. Lowly reverent
Towards either throne they bow."

The song of the Heavenly choir which follows, gathers into itself

(1) Paradise Lost. 3. 56. (2) Paradise Lost. 3. 344 ff.

the most inspired Hebrew imaginative thought of the Deity :-

- (1) "Thee, Father, first they sung, Omnipotent,
Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
Eternal King ; Thee, Author of all being,
Fountain of light, Thyself invisible
Amidst the glorious brightness where Thou sitt'st
Throned in accessable, but when Thou shad'st
The full blaze of Thy beams, and though a cloud
Drawn round about Thee like a radiant shrine,
Dark with excessive bright Thy skirts appear
Yet dazzle Heaven, that brightest Seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes."

Milton in Paradise Lost adopts the Hebrew attitude to Nature, regarding it as the work of God's hands, yielding Him praise and obedience, testifying His providence, power and wisdom.

The morning hymn of Adam and Eve is in the mood of a Hebrew psalm

- (2) "These are Thy glorious works , Parent of good,
Almighty . ' Thine this universal frame,
Thus wondrous fair : Thyself how wondrous then !
Unspeakable ! who sitt'st above these Heavens,
To us invisible, or dimly seen
In these Thy lowest works ; yet these declare
Thy goodness beyond thought, and power divine."

All the works of the Lord are then called upon to give praise to

(1) Paradise Lost. 3.372.ff. (2) Paradise Lost.5. 153.ff.

the Lord. The importance of this religious attitude to nature is impressed upon Adam with great emphasis in his discourse with the Angel, when the Hebrew lesson is also taught that the whole duty of man is to "fear God and keep His commandments." Adam shews an unchastened curiosity and a weakness for philosophical speculation which to the Hebrew mind, is mere folly and impiety. This dangerous tendency has to be constantly checked by the admonitions of Raphael:

(1) "Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid ;
Leave them to God above ; Him serve and fear.
Of other creatures as Him pleases best,
Wherever placed, let Him dispose ; joy thou
In what He gives to thee, this Paradise
And thy fair Eve ; Heaven is for thee too high
To know hat passes there. Be lowly wise."

It is in the same Hebraic spirit that the exercise of the mind on metaphysical abstractions is conceived to be the occupation of the fallen angels. These reason among themselves :-

(2) "Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will and Fate -
Fixed fate, free-will, foreknowledge, absolute,
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.
Of good and evil much they argued then,
Of happiness and final misery,
Passion and apathy, and glory and shame :
Vain wisdom all, and false Philosophy ! "

The only tree in the garden of Eden whose fruit is forbidden is the tree of knowledge, and it is in a large measure this thirst for knowledge, which tempts Eve to her fatal act of disobedience which

"Brought death into the world and all our woe."

It is characteristic that the obedience required is the unquestioning obedience to a command whose rationale ~~was~~^{is} not revealed ; While man is placed by the Divine ordinances in a position of almost childish subordination, he yet feels a pride of manhood as lofty as that of the proudest Greek ; but this pride is of a ~~man-~~ heed religious nature and is based on the claims of being made in the image of God. The dignity of man in his state of innocence is pictured with all the Hebrew earnest simplicity of temper :-

(1) "Two of far nobler shape, erect and tall,
God-like erect, with native honour clad
In naked majesty, seem'd lords of all,
And worthy seem'd; for in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Maker shone,
Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure -
Severe, but in true filial freedom placed,
Whence true authority in men."

In this earnestness there is little room for joyous spontaneity : when Adam unbends in the presence of Eve's delightful charms we feel the stiffness of his Puritan joints ; his demonstrations

of affection are usually described with a little moral clause to justify the occasion and to shew that these human weaknesses are not contrary to the principles of Puritanism. The added justification tends to destroy any happy spontaneity of effect. Thus we are told :-

"Nor gentle purpose, nor endearing smiles
Wanted, nor youthful dalliance,"

but Milton hastens to add that this is all

"as becoms

Fair couple linked in happy nuptial league ,
Alone as they."

There is something forced and affected in the elaborate defence of such obviously simple and harmless pleasures which is put into the mouth of Adam.

"Yet not so strictly hath our Lord imposed
Labour as to debar us when we need
Refreshment, whether food, or talk between,
Food of the mind, or this sweet intercourse
Of looks and smiles ; for smiles from reason flow
To brute denied, and are of love the flood -
Love, not the lowest end of human life.
For not to irksome toil, but to delight,
He made us, and delight to reason joined."

The Puritan, for ever harping on his principles misses the gentle humanity, whether grave or gay, which is so delightful in the Greek. Rigid principles seem destructive to a sense of humour. Milton's humorous sallies, fortunately rare, are as ponderous and laboured in their effect as must have appeared the well-meant efforts of the animals in Eden to provide entertainment for our first parents when

(1) "Sporting the lion ramped, and in his paw

Dandled the kid ;bears, tigers, ounces, pardés,

Gambolled before them ; the unwieldy elephant

To make them~~me~~ mirth, used all his might and wreathed

His lithe proboscis "

The "gamesome mood " of Satan and his allies is as heavy as those "chained -thunderbolts " which form the subject of their mirth.

The heaviness in Milton is a sign of strength but of that Puritan strength of the massive iron frame ^{rather} than of the supple athletic figure which the Greek represents. It is in this strength that ~~he~~ ruthlessly tramples on all the forms of wickedness even when clothed with beauty. As Isaiah denounces with unflinching severity the Hebrew women with the "bravery of their tinkling ornaments ", " who walk with stretched forth necks, mincing as they go ", so Milton holds up to scorn that

(2) "bevy of fair women, richly gay

In gems and wanton dress "

(1) Paradise Lost. 4. 343. ff. (2) Paradise Lost book 11. 582.

whose only care is

"to sing, to dance

To dress, and troll the tongue, and roll the eye "

In his general attitude towards women ⁽¹⁾ he adopts the oriental hypothesis of woman for the sake of man "

Enough has perhaps been said to indicate the dominance of the Hebraic spirit in the mood and thought of Paradise Lost. There is sufficient indication however that the rule of Hebraism has not been established without a very real fight for liberty on the part of Hellenism. In almost all the passages where Hebraic principles are most aggressively asserted, the aggression is due to the activity of an opposing force. The denunciation of the "bevy of fair women " which so closely resembles the spirit of Isaiah,⁽²⁾ pronounced in rebuke of Adam's naïve delight at their appearance :-

(2) "Such happy interview, and fair event

Of love and youth not lost, songs, garlands, flowers,

And charming symphonies, attached the heart

Of Adam, soon inclined to admit delight,

The bent of nature ; which he thus expressed :-

'True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel blest,

Much better seems this vision, and more hope

Of peaceful days portends, than those two past ;

Those were of hate and death, or pain much worse ;

Here nature seems fulfilled in all her ends."

(1) Mark Pattison's "Milton" p 55. (2) Paradise Lost. 11.593.

After the rebuke Adam seems quite crestfallen as one "of short joy bereft." His sensitiveness to the charms of Eve at times endangers his hold on the 'oriental hypothesis'. Here again it is the angel who enforces the Hebraic sentiments. It is his over-confidence in the virtue and native innocence of Eve that persuades him to allow her to wander from his side, which proved so fatal in the subsequent event. Familiar as we are with Milton's personal history, we detect the autobiographical note in all this, or at least the sympathy of experience. The anxious safeguards of apologies, justifying clauses, and angelic rebukes, with which the Hellenic spirit is hemmed in, suggest the strength of its vitality. Milton seems to have felt his sensibility to beauty both in art and nature to have been strong enough to become a possible source of danger to his religious principles. But, since his supposed infirmities are the infirmities of noble minds, he seems to have found most difficulty in persuading his intellect, in the pride of its freedom, to submit to the Hebraic yoke. The emphasis which Raphael in his discourse with Adam, lays on this matter of intellectual subjection suggests strength of the resistance to be overcome. When Milton, like a good Hebrew makes philosophic speculation the pastime of the fallen angels in Hell, asserting that the outcome of their discourse is

(1) "Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy "
his Hellenic self cannot forbear to add

" Yet with a pleasing sorcery, could charm

(1) Paradise Lost 2. 566.

"Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
Fallacious hope, or arm the obdured breast
With stubborn patience as with triple steel."

In his earlier days, before the Hebraic claims had become so exacting, he had felt no compunction in singing in undisguisedly Hellenic strains the praises of philosophy :-

"How charming is divine philosophy,
Not harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose,
But musical as is Appollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of nectared sweets
Where no crude surfeit reigns."

It was a happy device of Milton in the days of his Hebraic cautiousness to picture with evident delight the charms of Hellenism which he had now renounced and, at the same time, for the avoidance of all scandal, to relegate these pictures to the infernal regions. While Adam and Eve must, as befits their sober dignity, occupy their time chiefly in the innocent and useful toil of tending their garden, yet it will rather please than shock the feelings of the most rigid Puritan to see the fallen angels indulging in those activities most dear to the Hellenic spirit :-

"Part on the plain, or in the air sublime,
Upon the wing or in swift race contend,
As at the Olympian or Pythian fields ;
Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal
With rapid wheels, or pointed brigads form."

"Others more mild

Retreated in a silent valley sing

With notes angelic~~all~~ to many a harp

Their own heroic deeds."

Milton is however, too honest to pretend that these pursuits originate merely from a state of degradation, he admits that they are in part ~~like~~ the relics of former glory.

Thus throughout, the elements of Hebraism and Hellenism are inextricably mingled, and the mingling is generally that of a conflict with Hebraism constantly tending to win the upper hand, though its opponent is never quite subdued.

In *Paradise Regained*, the aggressive tendencies of Hebraism become still more pronounced : the imaginative adornment of the narrative is more severely restricted, though where Satan would dazzle the eyes of the Son of God with visions of earthly splendour, Milton found a safe opportunity to indulge his love for piling up erudite literary allusions, for rolling out those magnificent lists of proper names. Almost startling, however, in its isolation is the appearance at the beginning of the fourth book of the Homeric type of simile :-

(1) "As a swarm of flies in vintage-time,

About the wine-press when sweet must is poured,

Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound ;

Or surging waves against a solid rock,

Though all to shivers dashed, the assault renew,

(Vain battery !) and in froth and bubbles end -

So Satan ."

This is quite in the old Hellenic vein but seems foreign to the general spirit of Paradise Regained. More in tune with its general Hebraic tone the denunciation, with increased sternness of mere wanton beauty :-

"For beauty stands

In the admiration only of weak minds

Led captive ; cease to admire, and all her fulness plun

Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy,

At every sudden slighting quite abashed."

But most significant of the times is that definite rejection of the wisdom of Hellenism and avowal of the superiority of Hebraism which is asserted by the Son of God in opposition to Satan. The Greek philosophers are held up to scorn and all their wisdom declared to be folly :-

"Alas ! what can they teach, and not mislead,

Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,

And how the world began and how man fell,

Degraded by himself, on grace depending ?"

There is even something of the bigotry of the convert against the faith which he has deserted , in the depreciation of Greek art, and the laudatory elevation of the Hebrew :-

pp. "Or, if I would delight my private hours
With music or with form, where so soon
As in our native language can I find
That solace ?.....

Rather Greece from us these derived -
Ill imitated while they loudest sing
The vices of their deities, and their own
In fable hymn or song, so personating
Their gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
Remove their swelling epithets, thick-laid
As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,
Thin-sown with aught of profit and delight,
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,
Where God is praised aright and godlike men,
The Holiest of Holies and His saints."

We cannot but regret the unfairness of the partisan spirit in these lines. But here again, we may notice with what ready eloquence flow the praises of

(2) "Athens, the eye of Greece, Mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits ",

when these praises are discreetly put in the mouth of Satan.

(1) Paradise Regained. 4. 331. (2) Paradise Regained. 4. 240.

The vitality of the Hellenic spirit is never quite crushed even in these later days of Hebraic tyranny.

In view of the attitude towards Greek art adopted in *Paradise Regained*, it is, perhaps, somewhat of a surprize to find that Milton's next poetic production is avowedly modelled on the ancient tragedies of Greece. The theme, however, is from the Hebrew Scriptures and, in the Preface where Milton quotes classical authority as a thing of weight, he is careful to maintain at the outset that "Tragedy, as it was anciently composed, hath been ever held the gravest, moralist, and most profitable of all other poems " He tells us that "the Apostle Paul thought it not unworthy to insert a verse of Euripides into the text of Holy Scripture " and that "a Father of the Church thought it not unbeseeming the sanctity of his person to write a tragedy, which he entitled 'Christ Suffering'."

In *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, Milton in the solitude of his blindness and of his moral isolation from the wickedness around him had soared in imagination above the temporal sphere, to dwell in the region of eternal truths. Now, in *Samson Agonistes* he returns to brood over the tragedy of his own life. In this poem he gives us the record of his own ⁽¹⁾ heroic soul, not baffled by temporary adversity, but totally defeated by an irreversible fate, and unflinchingly accepting the situation in the firm conviction of the righteousness of the cause." The atmosphere of this his last poetic work, is charged with the manifold and deep sorrows

of his own life's experience, but it is pervaded with the calm of religious resignation. The closing chorus of Samson Agonistes is in its spirit worthy of its position as Milton's last poetic utterance :-

(1) "All is best, though we oft doubt

What the unsearchable dispose

Of Highest Wisdom brings about,

And ever best found in the close.

His servants he, with new acqu^{ist}

Of true experience from this great event

With peace and consolation hath dismissed

And calm of mind, all passion spent."

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(1) Milton - English Men of Letters Series p 195.

(2) Samson Agonistes. 1745ff.

Our study of the spirit and leading ideas of Hebraism & Hellenism has impressed upon us how deep-seated is their antipathy: this impression has gained in strength as we have seen them vainly striving after reconciliation in the strong & rich personality of Milton. It remains to enquire very briefly as to the cause of this failure & to discover whether the natural antagonism is indeed too deep seated to be effaced or whether the failure ^{lies} lay, at least in the case of Milton, in the methods by which reconciliation is sought.

The methods undoubtedly challenge criticism: if Hebraism & Hellenism do indeed represent complementary elements in a full perfection of personality, they would seem entitled to an approximate equality of standing. It is this which they fail to obtain from Milton. He shows a constant tendency to let Hebraism tyrannise over Hellenism, assigning to it a position of humiliating subordination. This, as we saw, is partly due to the fact that all the strength of Milton's religious convictions is ranged on the side of Hebraism and, since religion is never content to claim supremacy over less than the whole of life, such an alliance was sure to lead to an unfair suppression of the Hellenic interests.

If the factor of religion, instead of throwing its lot unreservedly with the one protagonist, had agreed to sit apart & yield impartial justice to both, a higher synthesis

might have been effected. Unfortunately Milton seems to have been little aware ^{of} ~~that~~ the nature of the system of Christianity to which he professed adherence, which, by its rich & liberal spirit, was well fitted to bring about the reconciliation of Hebraism & Hellenism, & which had in fact absorbed into itself their most essential elements. The founder of Christianity professes ~~that~~ he came not to destroy but to fulfil the Hebrew religion: so the strength & earnestness of Hebraism is retained but is robbed of its harshness & inhumanity.

The Christian conception of the Deity retains the elements of majesty found in the Hebrew Jehovah but lays more emphasis on the quality of love. It makes possible an intercourse between God & man as simple & gracious as that between the Greek & his Olympians, nor does it exclude a mysticism as tender & beautiful as that of the Greek mysteries. The Christian can enter into the religious solemnity of the attitude to Nature expressed in the Hebrew psalms but he can also, like St. Francis, or George Herbert, look at Nature as ⁽¹⁾ "a sister and even a younger sister --- ^{dancing} --- little laughing sister to be laughed at as well as loved". While Christianity denounces sin with the sternness of a Hebrew prophet, it shows the tenderest compassion for the sinner. Virtue in women is not enforced by pouring impatient scorn of their follies & vices, but by holding up to them for imitation the picture of the Virgin mother in a setting

(1) Chesterton's "Orthodoxy" p. 205.

of such beauty & tenderness that calls forth feelings never far removed from those of worship. This picture is the inspiration of chivalry with all the charm of its gracious humanity. In Christianity morality is the free outgrowth of devotion to a personality & is not merely a structure bolstered up with the props of rigid principle. Christianity has shown the way to a higher synthesis of Hebraism & Hellenism & it is now only the limitations of individual character which prevent the union in a single personality of religion & culture, morality & the appreciation of beauty, strictness & spontaneity, strength & sweetness.

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